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ABSTRACT

The study described here was designed to investigate the current employment situation in linguistics. Three major goals were to: (1) investigate the current supply of, and demand for, linguists; (2) study the status of women and minority groups in the profession; and (3) look into potential new areas of employment for linguists. The principal sources of the data were three questionnaires sent to working linguists, graduate students and department and program heads. The report begins with a statistical description of linguists and linguistics students. It goes on to assess: the current and probable future state of the job market, unemployment and underemployment, the mechanics of matching applicants and jobs, and the responses of individuals to these subjects. Linguists who specialize in uncommonly taught languages are also discussed, followed by respondents' comments on other aspects of graduate training and the job market. The following general conclusions were drawn: (1) the supply of linguists at the doctoral level will continue to exceed demand, and even more so for the master's level; (2) minority representation in the field of linguistics is very small; (3) women linguists appear at a disadvantage professionally when compared to men; and (4) linguists can contribute toward needed basic and advanced materials as well as training in the uncommonly taught languages and area studies. Appendices contain: sample questionnaires; information on the uncommonly taught languages taught at the Foreign Service Institute in Washington, D.C.; a report on the Summer Institute of Linguistics; a list of tables found in the report; and a bibliography. (Author/AM)

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Present and Future Needs For Specialists in Linguistics and the Uncommonly Taught Languages

Mary M. Levy
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Center for Applied Linguistics
and
Linguistic Society of America
June 1976

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PRESENT AND FUTURE NEEDS FOR SPECIALISTS IN LINGUISTICS AND THE UNCOMMONLY TAUGHT LANGUAGES

prepared by
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under the direction of
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Project Directors

Final Report to the Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare on the work performed by the Center for Applied Linguistics, in cooperation with the Linguistic Society of America, under Contract No. OEC-0-72-1418

CENTER FOR APPLIED LINGUISTICS
LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA
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Arlington, Virginia 22209

June 1976

Foreword

In March 1972, the Center for Applied Linguistics, in cooperation with the Linguistic Society of America, undertook a project funded by the U.S. Office of Education to determine the present and future needs for linguists and specialists in the uncommonly taught languages. The project was designed and jointly guided by John B. Carroll, Educational Testing Service, and A. Hood Roberts, CAL. The staff work was carried out by Mary M. Levy, who also prepared this report.

The LSA Manpower Survey Committee, appointed in late 1971 by LSA President Eric P. Hamp, outlined the goals for the project and reviewed the work as it progressed. The Committee members were: John B. Carroll, Chairman; Charles Bird, Indiana; Wallace L. Chafe, California-Berkeley; James R. Frith, Foreign Service Institute; Victoria Fromkin, UCLA; Georgette Ioup, Washington-Seattle; Michael Krauss, Alaska; Richard Long, Atlanta; Elaine K. Ristinen, Hokkaido, Japan; John R. Ross, MIT; and A. Hood Roberts, CAL.

The Center for Applied Linguistics and the Linguistic Society of America would like to express their appreciation to the LSA members, the graduate students in linguistics and languages, the linguistics departments and programs, and the many federal, private and professional organizations, which so generously provided the information on which this report is based. It is to be hoped that the project, which was a product of the close continuing cooperation between the Center and the Linguistic Society, will serve students, faculty, and others to plan in a more informed way to meet the needs for linguists and language specialists in the coming decade.

Eric A. Hamp, President, LSA, 1971 Rudolph C. Troike, Director, CAL

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

This study began in late 1971, when the Manpower Survey Committee of the Linguistics Society of America (LSA) was formed to look into the current employment situation in linguistics. The Office of Education funded a proposal soon after, and staffwork began on May 1, 1972. At a meeting in Chapel Hill that summer, the Committee set three major goals for the project: first, to investigate the current state of supply of, and demand for, linguists, second, to study the status of women and minority groups in the profession, and third, to look into potential new areas of employment for linguists. The results of the first and third investigations are commingled in Chapters 2 through 5, those of the second appear in Chapters 6 and 7.

1.1 Definition of Linguist

A linguist is defined here essentially as anyone having linguistics training or doing work broadly defined as linguistics, including those affiliated primarily with other disciplines by training or self-identification on the rationale that they were performing work which could as well be done by a self-identified linguist the major subject of whose degree was linguistics. Since the criteria are basically those of the National Register of Scientific and Technical Personnel (see below), they also promote comparability among data sources. Graduate students were judged as being in linguistics or not by the same broad criteria, but the sources used (see below) limited coverage in practice to those in programs labelled linguistics.

1.2 Data Sources

The principal sources for our current findings were three questionnaires circulated to working linguists, graduate students and department and program heads. These were funded privately by the Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL) and the LSA, and are reproduced in appendix A. Information not covered by these questionnaires and supplementary data came from various government and private sources. The principal ones are described below, and the others appear in the bibliography.

1.2.1 The LSA Membership Survey

The LSA Membership Survey, was sent to a sample consisting of one in four members on the mailing list in February, 1973. The response rate was 71%-- 518 forms altogether were completed, returned and tabulated. Society membership, being open to anyone interested, includes students and non-linguists as well as linguists in the work force. A respondent's status as a linguist was determined by inspecting each questionnaire under the broad definition above (CAL staff members who had performed this function for the National Register were consulted in borderline cases). The forms of non-linguists were set aside, and the remaining questionnaires were tabulated as a group for a few questions (e.g., subject of BA) then sorted and tabulated separately for linguists in the work force and students. Persons who were both students and in the work force were counted in both groups. (Further details on the work force--numbers and definition appear in Chapter 2.)

It should be emphasized that this survey was a sampling, i.e., that the absolute numbers which appear in some tables derived from these tabulations do not represent total numbers for the categories in question. The most significant figures in these tables are the percentages.

The LSA Membership list was used for the mailing primarily because no other current list of linguists exists. Since the National Register list was broader than the LSA list, we compared members and non-members in the 1970 Register, to determine what differences between that group and the LSA Membership Survey respondents might be correlated with Society membership (as opposed to the passage of three years or chance). The principal difference was age, as illustrated by Table 2.3 in the next chapter. The median age of LSA members with a PhD was 41, that of non-members 49, and for MA's the medians were 32 and 39 respectively. The other major difference between the 1973 and 1970 groups was degree level: 75% in the LSA Membership Survey hold a doctorate, compared with 63% in the Register, while 23% in the 1973 group as compared with 29% in the Register have a master's. This phenomenon is not a function of LSA membership, however, since in the 1970 Register LSA members do not differ significantly from non-members in this regard.

The two groups also differed slightly in the percentage employed by colleges and universities (84% in the LSA Membership Survey, 81% in the 1970 Register). This discrepancy is partly a function of differences in degree level, since the percentages for PhD's are 92% vs. 91% respectively. Comparison within the Register group, however, show that non-members are more likely to be employed at non-academic institutions. Thus the academic linguists may be slightly over represented in the LSA sample.

The situation differs as to the percentage of women in the work force--26% of the 1973 group compared with 22% of the 1970 group. The difference between the number of women PhD's was only two percentage points (20% vs. 18%, attributable to the passage of time since the number of women PhD's graduating has increased considerably), but below that level women in the LSA survey were 42% of those with MA's compared with 29% in the Register. Comparison within the Register group, however, suggests that if anything,women are under-represented in the LSA group: among members women were 27% of the MA's in the work force and 18% of the PhD's but among non-members they were 37% and 21% respectively. (Recall that 80% of the entire Register group belongs to the LSA, however.)

We have attempted to mitigate the limitations of the original mailing list for the LSA Membership Survey by including: breakdowns by degree level in most tables and Register data wherever applicable.

1.2.2 Survey of Linguistics Graduate Students

A comprehensive survey of linguistics graduate students was attempted through sending packets of questionnaires for distribution to the heads of all departments and programs listed in University Resources for 1971-72[1] as granting an advanced degree in linguistics or in another subject with a concentration in linguistics. The response was variable. Several programs obtained responses from almost all their graduate students, while others returned none at all (the latter included most programs offering only a graduate minor in linguistics). Responses by institution are shown in Section 2.5.2 . Some check on the representation thus provided is given by other sources, notably the Survey of Linguistics Department and Program Heads and enrollment figures from the U.S. Office of Education[2]. They indicate that our sample is somewhat imbalanced in that PhD students are slightly over-represented, and that women are over-represented among master's students. No other significant discrepancies were noted (but much of the information drawn from the graduate student survey is not covered by other sources). The number of forms tabulated--774 (almost one-third of estimated total graduate enrollment in linguistics) and the variety of institutions represented make up to some extent for the imbalances.

Most tabulations were performed on a breakdown by degree sought--master's or doctorate. The members of the group abbreviated MA/PhD are seeking an MA in a program leading to a PhD, or are definitely planning to go on for a doctorate after the master's. (Determination was made by inspecting each questionnaire.) For some purposes they were tabulated separately, for others (e.g., time of entering the job market) they are grouped with the doctoral students, and for others (e.g., subject of original research) they are grouped with master's students.

1.2.3 Survey of Linguistics Department and Program Heads

The survey of department and program heads was circulated to every program listed in University Resources in the United States. About two-thirds responded, and we estimate on the basis of our tabulations from University Resources that the completed forms cover about one-third of the linguistics staff in all departments and schools combined, and two-thirds of that in linguistics departments. (The forms did not reach other departments in institutions with linguistics departments.) As with the other questionnaires circulated by CAL and LSA the percentages in the resulting tables are more significant than the absolute numbers.

1.2.4 The National Register of Scientific and Technical Personnel, (Linguistics Sector)

The linguistics sector of the National Register was administered biennially between 1964 and 1970 by the Center for Applied Linguistics for the National Science Foundation (no other questionnaires have been circulated since then). The Center assembled a mailing list from the Roster of Linguists which it had previously maintained, various society membership lists (including the LSA), and names which came to its attention informally. The number of registrants

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1/ University Resources in the United States and Canada in the Study of Linguistics, 1971-1972, Allene Guss Grognet, ed., Arlington, VA: Center for Applied Linguistics and the Secretariat of the Linguistic Society of America, 1972.

2/ United States Office of Education. National Center for Educational Statistics. Enrollment for Advanced Degrees. Fall 1966-Fall 1971. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Govt. Printing Office. Yearly.

ranged from 1351 in 1964 to 1902 in 1970, the response rate being 55-60% (the latter in 1970). The criteria for inclusion were: "A bachelor's degree in linguistics with evidence of continued activity in the field, or graduate training in linguistics; or employment in the field of linguistics; or professional identification of linguist supported by linguistic specializations; or the equivalent in professional experience." The only difference between the criteria used by the Register and by the LSA Membership Survey was that the latter included a few anthropologists and psychologists who would have been in those specific sections of the National Register. (The Register had no separate sections for language specialists, speech specialists, or others in the humanities.) Many of the tabulations were published in American Science Manpower 1964, 1966, 1968, and 1970[1]. Additional tabulations were performed for the Manpower Survey by the project director, Dr. John B. Carroll from the 1970 data tape.

1.2.5 Doctorate Records File

The National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council surveys graduating PhD's in the U.S. as they complete all requirements for the doctorate. The Manpower Survey obtained tabulations for linguistics doctorates from 1963-1971 plus tables showing the number of linguistics doctorates conferred each year since 1920, by sex. For the statistics provided, this is an excellent source, first, because respondents are self-classified, i.e., graduates of English and foreign language departments who regard themselves as linguists are included and second, because it covers all self-classified linguistics PhD's. It is not completely comprehensive, however, because categories are mutually exclusive; an English language and literature specialist, for example, who is also trained in linguistics but who identifies with English as a discipline, is not included.

1.2.6 Enrollment for Advanced Degrees and Earned Degrees Conferred

The U.S. Office of Education surveys institutions of higher education annually and publishes two series used here, Earned Degrees Conferred, in which linguistics has been listed separately since 1956, and Enrollment for Advanced Degrees, in which linguistics has been listed separately since 1960. The first lists the number of students of each sex receiving BA's, MA's and PhD's from each institution and the second the number enrolled in the first year (or its equivalent) and beyond. Classifications are made by the registrar's office of each institution; hence linguists in other departments are often not included. Within this limitation these sources are comprehensive.

1.2.7 University Resources

The Center for Applied Linguistics, recently in cooperation with the Linguistic Society of America, has for some years published a guide to linguistics programs in four year colleges and universities. Information is provided by program heads, via a questionnaire and supplemented by college catalog information. All institutions in the U.S. with linguistics departments or interdepartmental programs are included as well as most offering three or more courses in general linguistics. The Manpower Survey performed tabulations from the editions of 1963, 1966, 1969-70, and 1971-72, and has drawn some information from returns (not yet complete) for the 1974-75 edition. Listings for each

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1/ National Science Foundation Division of Science Resources Studies. American Science Manpower. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Govt. Printing Office. Biennially.

institution include the organization of the program, degrees offered, linguistics department staff by name and rank, and linguists in other departments and schools by name and rank.

1.2.8 Comments

The questionnaires circulated by CAL and the LSA provided not only statistics but comments by members of the profession, many of which are reproduced in various sections of the study. We have no way of knowing how typical the speakers are, since the comments were strictly voluntary and were not responses to any standardized set of questions. Moreover, respondents tend to write complaints but not indications of satisfaction. They are included because they cover aspects of the employment situation in which statistics are inadequate or irrelevant and because they give some indication of opinion within the profession.

1.3 Organization of the Study

The study begins with a detailed statistical description of linguists and linguistics students, Chapter 2, which is broken down into the work force in general, the academic work force, the non-academic work force, and linguistics graduate students. It is designed as a description of our sources of information and as documentation for some of the summary statements and conclusions of Chapters 3 and 4. Chapter 3 assesses the current and probable future state of the job market for linguists. It commences with the past record of institutional growth in linguistics, then undertakes an estimate of the future numbers of linguists and the demand for their professional services. The remaining sections in the chapter cover unemployment and underemployment in linguistics, the mechanics of matching applicants and jobs, and the responses of individuals to all of these subjects. Chapter 4 deals with linguists who specialize in uncommonly taught languages. Chapter 5 relays the reactions and suggestions of individual respondents to other aspects of graduate training and the job market. Chapters 6 and 7 cover minority group members and women in linguistics. Information on the former is limited, unfortunately, because there are so few that samples do not adequately represent them and none of the comprehensive sources collected such data. Coverage of the status of women is relatively thorough. Summaries of findings and conclusions appear at the beginning or end of each chapter.

What the study has accomplished is to demonstrate that there are several serious problems in linguistics employment and to provide information to permit intelligent planning and decision-making on the part of different groups and individuals associated with the profession--department and program heads and other university authorities, non-academic employers and potential employers, government officials, graduate advisors, undergraduate advisors, and individual students and linguists attempting to plan their own careers. It has created no new jobs however, nor has it discovered vacant positions waiting for linguists. The findings do not point inexorably to any particular course of action. Unquestionably the department heads and other authorities who determine graduate enrollment, government and foundation officials who allocate funds for research, teaching, and graduate study, and employers who determine how many and which linguists they hire will influence the employment situation. But given the constraints under which they operate the activities of individual linguists and their advisors may be at least as important. Although the picture is bleak, people who need employment badly enough have a way of finding it someplace. If they continue to look to the traditional sources of employment, the picture will remain bleak. If they take the initiative aggressively enough they may work their way into disciplinary interstices and situations where no one ever heard of a linguist before. Statistics cannot speak to this part of the future. We hope, however, that they will assist the necessary choices by all concerned.

CHAPTER II

The Characteristics of Linguists

2.1 Introduction

This chapter on the characteristics of linguists focuses on the work force--linguists currently employed or seeking employment--and on its future members, linguistics graduate students. We counted as a linguist anyone in the work force having linguistics training or doing work broadly defined as linguistics (including interdisciplinary areas), even those affiliated primarily with other disciplines by training or self-identification. The effect was to include a number of people affiliated with a language discipline (about a quarter of our respondents) and a smaller number affiliated with a wide variety of other fields, including anthropology, psychology, communications, speech pathology, education, philosophy and area studies. We emphasize, however, that linguistics, a relatively new academic discipline, has always been closely associated with other disciplines and that all the respondents we call linguists are doing linguistics.

With graduate students our focus was narrower, primarily because the available information covers only those students in programs formally designated as linguistics. For a fuller description of our sources, see Chapter I.

2.2 The Work Force: General Characteristics

The work force consists of linguists employed full or part-time (other than student teaching and research assistants)[1] and those unemployed and seeking employment. There are about 3,000 working linguists.[2]

2.2.1 Citizenship

According to the LSA Membership Survey, 92.0% of the work force are U. S. citizens and 8.0% are non-citizens from a wide variety of countries, both western and non-western. The 1970 NRSTP group is similar, 90.9% being citizens, 9.1% non-citizens.

1/ We do not mean to imply that such students are not engaged in bona fide linguistic work. However, because many institutions treat assistantships as financial aid or professional training rather than employment, we have omitted their holders from this category.

2/ This figure is very rough. It was estimated as follows: (1) The 1970 NRSTP, which had a 60% response rate, included 1785 linguists employed or seeking employment. If non-respondents resemble respondents, the latter would represent a total work force of 2975 persons in 1970. (2) Among LSA Membership Survey respondents, 70.3% (364 of 518) were linguists and in the work force. Applying this percentage to the total domestic LSA membership of 3137, one finds 2205 LSA members in the linguistics work force. If they represent 81% of the total--as LSA members do in the NRSTP--there would be 2729 linguists altogether in the work force in 1973.

2.2.2 Age

The age distribution among linguists at different degree levels is shown in Tables 2.1 and 2.2. Almost half are under 40, two-thirds under 45 according to the 1973 survey. NRSTP respondents were older on the average, a difference correlated primarily with LSA membership, as Table 2.3 illustrates. There was no significant change in the age distribution of Register respondents between 1964 and 1970, but even among LSA members, PhDs in our 1973 sample were slightly younger than those in the Register.

2.2.3 Sex and Marital Status

The sex and marital status of working linguists in the LSA sample is shown in Table 2.4 and, for comparison, 1970 National Register figures by sex appear in Table 2.5. Women constitute over one-fourth of the 1973 work force (as represented by LSA members) and one-fifth of the PhD's. The 1970 percentages are smaller, possibly because of sampling bias, but more likely because more women are entering the field. The percentage of women among the employed respondents to the National Register increased steadily from 17.3% in 1964 to 21.2% in 1970, and the percentage of women enrolled as linguistics graduate students rose from 39% in 1966 to 48% in 1971. More detailed information by sex appears in Chapter VII, on the status of women in linguistics. In overall numbers, married men dominate the field. Almost half the women are single, while only about one-sixth of the men are.

2.2.4 Degree Level

Table 2.6 shows the degree level of linguists in the LSA sample. A full three-fourths hold the PhD, and most of the rest have training at the master's level or beyond. This group is on the whole more highly trained than the Register group (see Table 2.7), where only about 60% are PhD's and the number of BA's is relatively greater, although still small in absolute numbers. Since the degree level of LSA members in the Register is like that of registrants in general (i.e., about 60% are PhD's) the difference is not a function of LSA membership. Since past registers show an upward trend in the percentage of PhD's, starting with 54% in 1964, the three-year time lapse partly explains the difference.

2.2.5 Major Subject of PhD

Linguistics is relatively new as an academic discipline. Most linguistics departments being quite young, many linguists, particularly the older ones, have majored in other subjects. (Recall, however, that our definition of "linguist"--see Chapter I--is broad.)

The major subject of the PhD's in the LSA sample appears in Table 2.8. A few more than half majored in linguistics, but if those majoring in a combination of linguistics and another subject (e.g., Romance linguistics) are included, the figure rises to about 70%[1]. The difference between these two

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1/ Those majors combining two subjects are almost all linguistics and a specific language, e.g., French linguistics, English linguistics, Indo-European linguistics. Only 4 out of the 45 had another type of major.

Table 2.1. Linguists In The Work Force: Age, 1973.

	Highest Degree								
	PhD			PhD. Cand.	Master's	Bach. or less	Total		
Age	No.	%	Cum. %				No.	%	Cum. %
24 and under	-	-	-	-	1	2	3	.8	-
25-29	15	5.5	-	14	9	1	39	10.8	11.6
30-34	65	24.0	29.5	14	10	2	91	25.1	36.7
35-39	49	18.1	47.6	6	2	3	60	16.6	53.3
40-44	50	18.5	66.1	5	6	-	61	16.9	70.2
45-49	41	15.1	81.2	2	4	-	47	13.0	83.2
50-54	20	7.4	88.6	-	5	-	25	6.9	90.1
55-59	16	5.9	94.5	-	3	-	19	5.3	95.4
60-64	8	2.9	97.4	-	1	-	9	2.5	97.9
65-69	6	2.2	99.6	-	1	-	7	1.9	99.8
70 and over	1	0.4	100.0	-	-	-	1	.3	100.1
TOTAL	271	100.0	-	41	42	8	362	99.9	-
Median Age	40			32	38	-			

Source: LSA Membership Survey, 1973.

Table 2.2. Linguists in the Work Force: Age, 1970.

	Highest Degree							
	PhD		Master's		Bach. or less		Total	
Age	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
24 and under	1	0.1	6	1.2	12	8.8	19	1.1
25-29	58	5.2	132	25.3	52	38.2	242	13.6
30-34	189	16.8	130	24.9	27	19.9	346	19.4
35-39	221	19.7	80	15.3	18	13.2	319	17.9
40-44	169	15.1	72	13.8	12	8.8	253	14.2
45-49	175	15.6	49	9.4	6	4.4	230	12.9
50-54	103	9.2	19	3.6	5	3.7	127	7.1
55-59	96	8.6	19	3.6	3	2.2	118	6.6
60-65	81	7.2	11	2.1	-	-	92	5.2
66-69	23	2.1	4	0.8	1	0.7	28	1.6
70 and over	7	0.6	-	-	-	-	7	0.4
TOTAL	1123	100.2	522	100.0	136	99.9	1781	100.0
Median Age	42		34		30			

Source: NRSTP, 1970, Special committee tabulations.

Table 2.3. Linguists in the Work Force: Age and LSA Membership, 1970.

	PhDs						Total					
	Non-LSA		LSA		Total		Non-LSA		LSA		Total	
Age	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
24 and under	-	-	1	0.1	1	0.1	5	1.4	25	1.6	30	1.6
25-29	2	1.0	57	6.1	59	5.2	26	7.3	256	16.6	282	14.9
30-34	10	5.1	180	19.3	190	16.8	43	12.1	323	21.0	366	19.3
35-39	24	12.2	198	21.2	222	19.6	51	14.2	279	18.1	330	17.4
40-44	29	14.8	140	15.0	169	14.9	58	16.2	205	13.2	263	13.9
45-49	39	19.9	138	14.8	177	15.6	55	15.4	181	11.8	236	12.4
50-54	26	13.3	77	8.2	103	9.1	33	9.2	98	6.4	131	6.9
55-59	26	13.3	70	7.4	96	8.4	36	10.1	87	5.7	123	6.5
60-65	24	12.2	58	6.2	82	7.3	32	8.9	66	4.3	98	5.2
66-69	13	6.6	10	1.1	23	2.0	16	4.5	13	0.8	29	1.5
70 and over	3	1.5	6	0.6	9	0.8	3	0.8	6	0.4	9	0.5
TOTAL	196	99.9	935	100.0	1131	99.8	358	100.1	1539	99.9	1897	100.1

Source: NRSTP, 1970, Special committee tabulations.

Table 2.4. Linguists in the Work Force: Sex and Marital Status, 1973.

	Highest Degree						
	PhD				Bach. or less	Total	
Sex/Marital Status	No.	%	PhD Cand.	Master's		No.	%
Married Women	29	10.6	9	9	2	49	13.5
Single Women	26	9.5	7	10	2	45	12.4
Women: Subtotal	55	20.2	16	19	4	94	25.8
Married Men	188	68.9	17	18	1	224	61.5
Single Men	29	10.6	8	5	3	45	12.4
No Report	1	.4	-	-	-	1	.3
Men: Subtotal	218	79.9	25	23	4	270	74.2
TOTAL	273	100.0	41	42	8	364	100.1

Source: LSA Membership Survey, 1973.

Table 2.5 Linguists in the Work Force: Sex, 1970.

	Highest Degree								
	PhD		Master's		Bach. or less		NR	Total	
Sex	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		No.	%
Women	206	18.4	147	28.7	36	26.7	2	391	21.9
Men	913	81.6	366	71.4	99	73.3	16	1394	78.1
TOTAL	1119	100.0	513	100.1	135	100.0	18	1785	100.0

Source: NRSTP, 1970

Table 2.6. Linguists in the Work Force: Degree Level, 1973.

Degree Level	No.	%
PhD	273	75.0
PhD Candidate	41	11.3
Master's	42	11.5
Bachelor's	6	1.6
Less than bachelor's	2	.6
TOTAL	364	100.0

Source: LSA Membership Survey, 1973.

Table 2.7. Linguists in the Work Force: Highest Degree, 1970

Highest Degree	No.	%
PhD	1119	62.8
MA/MS	513	28.7
BA/BS	133	7.5
Less than BA/BS	2	.1
No report	18	1.0
TOTAL	1785	100.1

Source: NRSTP, 1970.

Table 2.8. Linguists: Major Subject of PhD by Year of Receipt, 1973.

Major Subject	Year pre 1960	1960 1963	1964 1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972
Linguistics	25	9	21	11	9	13	13	14	16
Linguistics/other subject	8	12	3	1	2	5	4	7	3
Foreign language--commonly taught[a]	9	2	5	1	-	-	-	1	1
Foreign language--uncommonly taught[b]	4	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
English	10	5	4	2	2	4	-	1	-
ESOL	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Anthropology	-	1	2	2	-	1	1	-	1
Psychology	2	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-
Other	2	1	3	-	1	-	2	-	1
TOTAL	63	30	42	18	14	23	21	23	23

Summary

Major Subject	pre-1963 No.	pre-1963 %	1963-1972 No.	1963-1972 %	Total No.	Total %
Linguists	34	36.6	97	59.9	131	51.4
Linguists/other subject	20	21.5	25	15.4	45	17.6
Foreign language--commonly taught[a]	11	11.8	8	4.9	19	7.5
Foreign language--uncommonly taught[b]	4	4.3	2	1.2	6	2.4
English	15	16.1	13	8.0	28	11.0
ESOL	3	3.2	1	.6	4	1.6
Anthropology	1	1.1	7	4.3	8	3.1
Psychology	2	2.2	2	1.2	4	1.6
Other	3	3.2	7	4.3	10	3.9
TOTAL	93	100.0	162	99.8	255	100.1

Source: LSA Membership Survey, 1973.

a/ Commonly taught foreign languages are French, German, Spanish, Italian and Russian. Majors in Romance, Germanic and Slavic languages are also included in this category.

b/ Uncommonly taught foreign languages are all others.

groups is the supervising department: almost all linguistics majors (including those who received degrees before 1960) were in linguistics departments, while majors in French linguistics, German linguistics, etc. were supervised by language departments.

Most of the remaining 30% of the sample majored in English or one of the commonly taught foreign languages. Very few majored in anthropology or psychology. Of the total of 79 not majoring in linguistics or the linguistics of a language, 38 reported a linguistics minor, 15 some other minor, and 26 no minor. Thus well over half of this group have had considerable formal linguistics training.

Since 1963, the proportion of graduating PhD's majoring in linguistics has increased sharply. Of the LSA members who received their doctorate before 1963, only 37% majored in linguistics, while 22% majored in a combination of linguistics and another subject, 16% in a foreign language, and another 16% in English. An upward trend in the number of linguistics majors began in 1964, reaching 70% of all graduating linguists in 1972. After dropping off in the late 60's, the percentage of PhD's with a combination linguistics-other subject major returned to 22% in 1971-72. The percentages of those majoring in foreign languages and English had fallen to two and four percent, respectively, by 1971-72.

Table 2.9 from the 1970 NRSTP, agrees substantially with the LSA membership survey. Thirty-seven percent of the linguists in the NRSTP survey who earned their PhD before 1950 majored in linguistics or joint subjects such as Romance linguistics. Up to 1963, the figure was about 53% (compared with 37% plus 22% for the LSA sample). In the two most recent years reported, 1969 and 1970, 77% were in this category.

As for majors in other subjects: Prior to 1950, 21% of the PhD's majored in foreign languages; in 1970 the figure was 4%. Twenty-six percent majored in English prior to 1950; during the 1950's the figure fell to 11% and remained fairly steadily at that level through 1970. Although the great majority of respondents in both groups majored in linguistics, English or foreign languages, the scatter among other fields is impressive.

In sum, trends and statistics for recent years indicate that in the immediate future we may look to linguistics departments for about 70% of new PhD's in linguistics and to foreign language and English departments for most of the rest, where they will major in linguistics as related to a particular language or language family.

2.2.6 Major Subject of Bachelor's Degree

The major subject of the bachelor's degree of linguistics PhD's graduating between 1963 and 1971 is shown in Table 2.10. Few majored in linguistics: less than 10% with no upward trend over the eight-year period. This is not surprising when one considers that until 1968 the number of linguistics BA's awarded each year was about the same as the number of PhD's and that the BA in linguistics has never been widely available. (See Table 3.7 and text, Section 3.1.4). At the bachelor's level the majority of linguistics PhD's majored in English or foreign languages, primarily the commonly taught

Table 2.9. Linguists: Major Subject of Highest Degree, by Year of Receipt, 1970.

Major Subject	Year of Receipt of Highest Degree									Total
	Pre-1950	1951-59	1960-63	1964-66	1967	68	69	70	NR	
Linguistics	71	177	171	271	117	108	132	52	9	1108
PhD	62	140	111	153	65	49	72	36	4	692
Master's	8	33	55	100	47	55	53	15	2	368
Bach.	-	3	3	18	4	4	7	1	-	40
Other	1	1	2	-	1	-	-	-	3	8
Phonetics	1	5	1	1	-	1	-	-	1	10
PhD	1	5	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	9
Master's	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Bach.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Foreign Lang./Lit.	58	60	46	53	18	17	7	6	1	266
PhD	35	39	21	27	8	12	2	2	1	147
Master's	12	17	19	15	6	2	3	3	-	77
Bach.	9	3	6	11	4	3	2	1	-	39
Other	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
English Lang./Lit.	54	51	36	45	16	14	13	6	1	236
PhD	43	28	20	25	10	11	7	6	1	151
Master's	10	16	9	13	5	2	6	-	-	61
Bach.	1	7	7	7	1	1	-	-	-	24
Speech	5	5	6	4	-	4	-	-	1	25
PhD	5	3	5	3	-	4	-	-	1	21
Master's	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	3
Bach.	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Communication	-	-	1	4	1	2	-	1	-	9
PhD	-	-	1	3	1	2	-	1	-	8
Master's	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Anthropology	1	7	9	12	3	1	2	2	-	37
PhD	1	1	2	2	-	-	-	1	-	7
Master's	-	-	3	6	3	1	2	1	-	16
Bach.	-	6	4	4	-	-	-	-	-	14
Psychology	1	2	1	2	2	3	1	-	-	12
PhD	1	2	1	-	1	2	-	-	-	7
Master's	-	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	3
Education	4	15	7	5	3	-	1	2	-	37
PhD	1	8	4	4	3	-	-	2	-	22
Master's	1	5	3	1	-	-	1	-	-	11
Bach.	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4

Table 2.9. Linguists: Major Subject of Highest Degree, by Year of Receipt, 1970. (Continued)

Major Subject	Year of Receipt of Highest Degree									Total
	Pre-1950	1951-59	1960-63	1964-66	1967	68	69	70	NR	
Mathematics	-	2	3	5	1	1	2	-	-	14
PhD	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	2
Master's	-	1	1	-	-	1	2	-	-	5
Bach.	-	1	2	3	1	-	-	-	-	7
History	4	3	2	-	1	1	-	-	-	11
PhD	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Master's	-	2	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	4
Bach.	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Philosophy	3	2	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	9
PhD	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Master's	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	3
Bach.	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Other	12	30	6	12	5	9	7	6	1	88
PhD	5	11	3	2	3	3	5	5	1	38
Master's	2	11	1	4	1	4	1	1	-	25
Bach.	2	8	2	5	1	1	1	-	-	20
Other	3	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	5
No Report	10	12	10	3	-	-	-	1	4	40
PhD	8	7	5	1	-	-	-	1	-	22
Master's	-	3	4	2	-	-	-	-	-	9
Bach.	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Other	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
TOTAL	224	371	301	419	167	161	165	76	18	1902
PhD	167	246	175	223	91	84	86	54	8	1134
Master's	34	89	96	145	63	66	69	20	3	585
Bach.	16	34	27	50	12	10	10	2	-	161
Other	7	2	3	1	1	1	-	-	7	22

Source: NRSTP, 1970, Special committee tabulations.

Table 2.10. PhD's Conferred in Linguistics: Field of Baccalaureate by Year of Doctorate

Field of Baccalaureate	Fiscal Year of Doctorate									Total 63-71	
	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	No.	%
Foreign lang./lit.	20	16	22	33	34	34	36	42	45	282	(30.9)
English lang./lit.	9	18	16	21	15	25	31	33	48	216	(23.7)
Linguistics	3	11	5	10	11	11	5	12	10	78	(8.5)
Other arts & humanities	4	5	5	7	7	13	5	13	13	72	(7.9)
Anthropology	1	1	2	1	-	3	-	2	4	14	(1.5)
Other social sciences	-	4	2	3	3	3	5	5	8	33	(3.6)
Psychology	-	-	1	2	1	3	-	-	6	13	(1.4)
Physical sciences	3	3	13	9	7	7	12	12	16	82	(9.0)
Professional fields	3	-	2	6	6	4	2	2	6	31	(3.4)
Education	2	2	-	3	3	1	6	3	9	29	(3.2)
Other & unspecified fields	-	4	4	4	5	10	12	13	11	63	
TOTAL	45	64	72	99	92	114	114	137	176	913	

Source: NAS-NRC, Doctorate Record File.

languages and classics. The remaining 37% majored in a wide scattering of other subjects, including mathematics, philosophy, anthropology, psychology, and religion. Interestingly, few majored in anthropology, a subject with close historical ties to linguistics.

The LSA survey of graduate students in linguistics showed only a slightly larger number of linguistics BA's: 14% of those enrolled for a doctorate and 14% of all students surveyed. The majority earned their bachelor's degree in foreign languages (40% of PhD students and 38% of all students) or English (21% and 23% respectively. However, 95% of the graduate students in this survey were enrolled in linguistics departments as compared with half to two-thirds of the PhD's reported in Table 2.10. Had the survey included more students in language departments with majors such as English or Slavic linguistics, the percentage of linguistics BA's would probably have been lower.

In sum, now and in the past linguists enter graduate training with a minimum of linguistics courses and with considerable training in other fields, especially languages.

2.2.7 Professional Identification

The response to questions on the academic discipline with which our respondents identified reveals once again the extent to which linguists are involved in the language disciplines. Of those defined as linguists for purposes of this study (see Chapter I), only about 60% in the LSA sample regarded themselves primarily as linguists, and 65% in the 1970 NRSTP identified with linguistics or an interdisciplinary field such as psycholinguistics or computational linguistics. A full one-fourth in each group regarded themselves primarily as language specialists. In contrast only a few in either group identified themselves primarily as anthropologists or psychologists.[1] There were no substantial differences in professional identification by degree level. A complete breakdown for each group surveyed appears in Tables 2.11 and 2.12.

2.2.8 Areas of Specialization

The great majority of linguists have some language specialization. Of the 364 LSA members in the work force responding to the question: "What are your principal areas of professional specialization?", over half (55%) listed foreign language/linguistics. One-fifth listed English linguistics, and almost 10% TESOL. A substantial number listed psycholinguistics (18%) and sociolinguistics or dialectology (15%), and over one-fifth reported

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1/ Such persons were usually included in the anthropology or psychology sectors of the National Register, and so would be unlikely to appear in our 1970 group.

Table 2.11. Linguists in the Work Force: Professional Identification, 1973.

Identification	PhD		PhD Cand.	Master's	Bach.	Total	
	No.	%				No.	%
Linguist	149	54.6	22	19	5	195	53.6
Linguist & foreign language specialist	14	5.1	3	2	-	19	5.2
Foreign language specialist	46	16.9	6	4	1	57	15.7
English	16	5.9	1	4	-	21	5.8
ESOL specialist	12	4.4	-	8	-	20	5.5
Anthropologist	12	4.4	-	-	1	13	3.6
Psychologist	6	2.2	1	1	-	8	2.2
Combination	7	2.6	2	-	-	9	2.5
Other	11	4.0	6	3	1	21	5.8
No Report	-	-	-	1	-	1	.3
TOTAL	273	100.1	41	42	8	364	100.2

Source: LSA Membership Survey, 1973.

Table 2.12. Employed Linguists: Professional Identification by Type of Employer, 1970

	Univ. Coll. or Jr. Coll.	%	Elem. or Sec. Sch.	Non-Prof. Org.	Res. Ctr.	Fed. Gov.	Mil.	St. Gov.	Other Gov. Agency	Priv. Ind. Bus.	Other	Self Emp.	No Rpt.	Total No.	Total %
Linguist	647	(47.3)	5	24	3	9	7	-	1	13	10	3	7	729	(43.0)
PhD	482		-	9	1	2	1	-	1	13	4	3	5	511	
Master's	132		4	12	1	5	3	-	-	9	4	-	2	172	
Bach.	33		1	3	1	2	3	-	-	1	2	-	-	46	
Psycholinguist	42	(3.1)	2	3	1	1	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	52	(3.1)
PhD	30		1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	33	
Master's	7		-	1	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	12	
Bach.	5		1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	
Sociolinguist	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	(.1)
PhD	-		-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	
Master's	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Bach	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Phonetician	35	(2.6)	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	38	(2.2)
PhD	30		-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	32	
Master's	3		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	
Bach.	2		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	3	
Computat. Linguist	24	(1.8)	-	2	3	4	-	-	-	15	-	1	-	49	(2.8)
PhD	11		-	2	1	3	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	24	
Master's	8		-	-	1	1	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	15	
Bach.	5		-	-	1	-	-	-	-	3	-	1	-	10	
Anthropol.Linguist	52	(3.8)	-	5	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	59	(3.5)
PhD	33		-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	36	
Master's	10		-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	
Bach.	9		-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	
Appl'd Linguist	193	(14.1)	8	13	3	16	1	-	2	6	2	4	1	249	(14.7)
PhD	147		4	3	2	5	-	-	1	1	-	2	-	165	
Master's	43		4	9	1	8	-	-	1	4	2	2	1	75	
Bach	3		-	1	-	3	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	9	
Linguists(sub tot)	993	(72.5)	15	49	10	33	9	-	3	35	13	9	8	1177	(69.5)
PhD	733		5	20	4	12	1	-	2	11	4	5	5	802	
Master's	203		8	22	4	16	3	-	1	19	6	3	3	288	
Bach.	57		2	7	2	5	5	-	-	5	3	1	-	87	

Table 2.12 (Continued)

	Univ. Coll. or Jr. Coll.	%	Elem. or Sec. Sch.	Non-Prof. Org.	Res. Ctr.	Fed. Gov.	Mil.	St. Gov.	Other Gov. Agency	Priv. Ind. Bus.	Other	Self Emp.	No Rpt.	Total	
Linguists (sub-tot) brt f'wd	993		15	49	10	33	9	-	3	35	13	9	8	1177	(69.5)
Lang/area spec	182	(13.3)	1	2	1	5	2	-	-	2	-	-	1	196	(11.6)
PhD	143		-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	146	
Master's	35		1	1	-	3	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	41	
Bach.	4		-	-	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	9	
Lang Tchr	128	(9.4)	15	3	-	6	-	1	2	2	6	-	1	164	(9.7)
PhD	79		2	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	3	-	-	86	
Master's	46		13	2	-	4	-	1	1	2	3	-	1	73	
Bach.	3		-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	
Bible Transl.	3	(0.2)	-	51	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	57	(3.4)
PhD	3		-	18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	21	
Master's	-		-	22	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	24	
Bach.	-		-	11	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	
Other	57	(4.2)	2	8	-	4	-	-	-	13	3	1	-	88	(5.2)
PhD	38		1	2	-	2	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	48	
Master's	14		1	6	-	1	-	-	-	4	3	1	-	30	
Bach.	5		-	-	-	1	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	10	
No Rep	6	(0.4)	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	2	-	-	2	12	(.7)
PhD	4		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	5	
Master's	2		-	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	2	7	
Bach.	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Total	1369		33	113	11	50	11	1	6	54	24	10	12	1694	
PhD	1000		8	41	4	16	1	-	3	18	7	6	5	1109	(65.5)
Master's	300		23	53	4	25	3	1	3	27	14	3	6	462	(27.3)
Bach.	69		2	19	3	9	7	-	-	9	3	1	1	123	(7.3)

Source: NRSTP, 1970, Special committee tabulations.

specialities combining linguistics with some other field, such as anthropological linguistics, mathematical linguists, computational linguistics, communication science, neurolinguistics, linguistics and literature, linguistics and education. The numbers involved in areas of theoretical linguistics were smaller: 11% in theory of language, 15% in phonology, 11% syntax. As may be seen in Table 2.13 figures for persons holding the PhD (273 out of 364 responding) closely parallelled those of the entire group. Most respondents listed more than one specialization; up to four were included in these tabulations.

Tables 2.14 and 2.15 provide a detailed breakdown of specialties reported by respondents to the LSA Membership Survey, including specific foreign language specializations.

The most popular areas of current linguistic research, according to the survey of LSA members, are psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics/dialectology, with 14% of those conducting research working in the former and 13% in the latter. Over 10% are involved in research in English linguistics. 8.8% are doing research in phonology, 8.5% in semantics and 6.7% in syntax. 6.7% are doing research in areas of applied linguistics, such as TESOL, second language teaching, and contrastive analysis. Almost all the research reported was being done by PhD's and PhD candidates. Table 2.16 shows figures for 17 areas in linguistics and inter-disciplinary studies. Tables 2.17 and 2.18 give the breakdown in greater detail, including languages.

Research on foreign languages centered in two different areas: commonly taught languages and American Indian languages. Forty-three projects were reported on French, Spanish, Italian, German, Russian, and Slavic, Romance and Germanic linguistics. American Indian languages accounted for another 30 topics. The remaining 84 topics reported were scattered among 52 different languages and language families, the only ones under study by more than three respondents being Indo-European (7), Chinese (7), Japanese (4), and Greek (4).

2.2.9 Type of Employer

The employment of linguists is heavily academic. The LSA Membership Survey indicates that in 1973 over ninety percent of employed linguists holding PhD's and about 85% of all employed linguists worked at universities and colleges. Those working at non-academic institutions were scattered through the federal government, elementary and secondary schools, private business, and various non-profit organizations. (See Table 2.19). More than half the linguists employed by non-academic institutions do not hold a PhD, suggesting that master's level training may be most appropriate to many such positions. Statistics from the 1970 National Register are in agreement (surface differences between the two groups are apparently a function of the greater number of Register respondents not holding a PhD); see Table 2.20.

Register statistics show the trend in non-academic employment to have been down over time. From 1964 to 1970 the percentage of linguists employed by educational institutions increased from 68.8% to 74.5%, while the percentage

Table 2.13. Linguists in the Work Forc[illegible] Area of Specialization (Broad), 1973.

Area of Specialization	Highest Degree PhD No.	 %	 PhD Cand	 Master's	 Bach.	 Total No.	 %
General linguistics	9	3.3	3	4	-	16	4.4
Hist. & Comp. ling.	34	12.5	4	3	-	41	11.3
Socioling/dialectology	41	15.0	9	3	-	53	14.6
Mis. topics in gen. ling.	35	12.8	4	-	-	39	10.7
Theory of language	33	12.1	3	3	-	39	10.7
Syntax	29	10.6	7	3	1	40	11.0
Phonology	43	15.8	5	4	2	54	14.8
Semantics	18	6.6	3	1	1	23	6.3
Other theoretical ling.	5	1.8	2	5	-	12	3.3
Applied ling. (general)	14	5.1	-	3	1	18	5.0
Ling. and education	6	2.2	2	1	-	9	2.5
TESOL	26	9.5	3	6	-	35	9.6
Other applied ling.	15	5.5	5	4	-	24	6.6
English linguistics	59	21.6	8	6	-	73	20.1
Foreign lang/ling.	155	56.8	24	15	5	199	54.7
Phonetics	16	5.9	1	1	1	19	5.2
Communication science	4	1.5	-	-	-	4	1.1
Psycholinguistics	47	17.2	7	8	2	64	17.6
Anthropological ling.	20	7.3	1	-	1	22	6.0
Computational ling.	8	2.9	2	1	1	12	3.3
Mathematical ling.	-	-	-	-	1	1	.3
Philosophy of lang.	3	1.1	-	-	-	3	.8
Ling. and literature	18	6.6	4	2	-	24	6.6
Neurolinguistics	5	1.8	-	-	-	5	1.4
Other fields	16	5.9	3	4	-	23	6.3
None listed	-	-	-	1	-	1	-
TOTAL number of respondents[a]	273	-	41	42	8	364	-

Source: LSA Manpower Survey, 1973.

a/ Up to four specialties per respondent were tabulated

Table 2.14. Linguists in the Work Force: Areas of Specialization (Narrow), 1973.

Area of Specialization	Highest Degree					Total	
	PhD		PhD Cand	MA	BA		
	No.	%				No.	%
General linguistics	9		3	-	-	12	3.3
Hist. & comp. ling.	34		4	-	-	38	10.4
Sociolinguistics	21	7.7	5	-	-	26	7.1
Dialectology	6	[illegible].2	1	-	-	7	
Languages in contact	2		1	-	-	3	
Bilingualism	8	2.9	-	2	-	10	2.8
Lang. planning	2		-	-	-	2	
English dialects	5		3	1	-	9	
Language attitudes	1		-	-	-	1	
Language typology	1		-	-	-	1	
Lang. distrib. class.	2		-	-	-	2	
Writing systems	1		1	-	-	2	
Pragmatics	1		-	-	-	1	
Descriptive ling.	9	3.3	1	-	-	10	2.8
Semiotics	2		-	-	-	2	
Glossogonics	1		-	-	-	1	
Trans/Inter. theory	-		-	-	-	-	
Hist. of linguistics	8	2.9	1	-	-	9	2.5
Paralinguistics	4		-	-	-	4	
Onomastics	-		-	-	-	-	
Lexicography	6		1	-	-	7	
Theory of lang.	33	12.1	3	3	-	39	10.7
Syntax	29	10.6	7	3	1	40	11.0
Phonology	43	15.8	5	4	2	54	14.8
Morphology	2		1	-	-	3	
Semantics	18	6.6	3	1	1	23	6.3
Discourse anal.	3		1	-	-	4	
Lang. universals	-		-	-	-	-	
Applied ling. (general)	14	5.1	-	3	1	18	5.0
Ling. and education	6		2	1	-	9	
Sec. lang. teaching	12	4.4	3	4	-	19	5.2
Contrastive anal.	3		2	-	-	5	
TESOL	26	9.5	3	6	-	35	9.6
Speech path. & ling.	-		-	-	-	-	
Bilingual edu.	-		-	-	-	-	
Edu. of handicapped	-		-	-	-	-	
Foreign lang/linguistics[a]	155	56.8	24	15	5	199	54.7
Eng. linguistics	20	7.3	2	4	-	26	7.1
Structure of Eng.	30	11.0	6	2	-	38	10.4
Hist. of Eng.	16	5.9	-	1	-	17	4.7
Other Eng. ling.	-		-	-	-	-	
Phonetics	16	5.9	1	1	1	19	5.2
Communication science	4		-	-	-	4	

a/ A breakdown by specific languages and language families appears in Table 2.15.

Table 2.14 (Continued)

Area of Specialization	Highest Degree					Total	
	PhD		PhD Cand	MA	BA	No.	%
	No.	%					
Psycholinguistics	31	11.4	3	4	2	40	11.0
Tests & measurement	-		-	1	-	1	
Lang. pathology	3		-	-	-	3	
Sec. lang. acquis.	5		1	-	-	6	
First lang. acquis.	12	4.4	3	3	-	18	5.0
Speech perception	2		-	-	-	2	
Animal communication	-		-	-	-	-	
Anthropol. ling.	20	7.3	1	-	1	22	6.0
Comp. ling.	8	2.9	2	1	1	12	3.3
Math. ling.	-		-	1	-	1	
Phil. of ling.	3		-	-	-	3	
Ling. & lit.	18	6.6	4	2	-	24	6.6
Stat. ling.	-		-	-	-	-	
Neuroling.	5		-	-	-	5	
Other fields	16	5.9	3	4	-	23	6.3
No report	-		-	1	-	1	
TOTAL number of respondents[a]	273		41	42	8	364	

Source: LSA Membership Survey, 1973.

a/ Up to four specialties per respondent were tabulated.

Table 2.15. Linguists in the Work Force: Foreign Language Specialization, 1973.

Language	Highest Degree				Total
	PhD	PhD Cand	MA/MS	BA/BS	
Indo-European	7	3	1	-	11
Afro-Asiatic	1	-	-	-	1
Classics	6	2	-	-	8
Greek	4	-	-	-	4
French	12	1	1	1	15
Spanish	18	2	4	-	24
Italian	-	2	1	-	3
German	9	-	1	-	10
Russian	6	1	-	-	7
Romance	7	-	2	-	9
Rumanian	1	-	-	-	1
Arabic/Rom.	-	-	1	-	1
Germanic	9	3	-	-	12
Scandinavian	1	-	-	-	1
Danish	1	-	-	-	1
Dutch	2	-	-	-	2
Germanic (dead)	2	-	-	-	2
Slavic	14	4	2	1	21
Czech/Slovak	4	-	-	-	4
Polish	1	-	-	-	1
Serbo-Croatian	1	-	-	1	2
Macedonian	1	-	-	-	1
Baltic	2	1	-	-	3
Celtic	2	-	-	-	2
Armenian	1	-	-	-	1
Balkan	1	-	-	-	1
Iranian	1	-	-	-	1
Persian	1	-	-	-	1
Pashto	1	-	-	-	1
Indic	1	-	-	-	1
Hindi/Urdu	-	2	-	-	2
Marathi	-	1	-	-	1
South Asian	3	1	-	-	4
Dravidian	1	1	-	-	2
Tamil	-	1	-	-	1
Mundu	1	-	-	-	1

Table 2.15 (Continued - 2)

Language	Highest Degree				Total
	PhD	PhD Cand	MA/MS	BA/BS	
Chinese	8	1	-	-	9
Japanese	5	1	1	1	8
Arabic	3	-	-	-	3
Hebrew	1	-	-	-	1
Portuguese	1	-	-	-	1
Berber	1	-	-	-	1
African	5	1	-	-	6
Bantu	2	1	-	-	3
Swahili	1	1	-	-	2
Yoruba	1	-	-	-	1
Ibo	1	-	-	-	1
Sino-Tibetan	1	-	-	-	1
Tibeto-Burman	2	-	-	-	2
Burmese	1	-	-	-	1
Southeast Asian	2	1	-	-	3
Vietnamese	1	-	-	-	1
Thai	4	-	-	-	4
Lao	1	-	-	-	1
Malayo-Poly	2	-	1	1	4
Oth. Mal-Poly	1	-	-	-	1
Uralic	4	-	-	-	4
Oth. Uralic	1	-	-	-	1
Altaic	1	-	-	-	1
Turkish	2	-	-	-	2
Oth. Turkic	1	-	-	-	1
Amerindian	16	1	-	1	18
Eskimo-Aleut	1	-	-	-	1
Athapaskan	3	-	-	-	3
Algonquian	1	-	-	-	1
Muskogean	1	-	-	-	1
Sioux	2	-	-	-	2
Iroquoian	-	1	-	-	1
Oth. Macro-Siouxian	1	-	-	-	1
Hokan	-	-	-	1	1
Penutian	2	-	-	-	2
Oth. NA Ind.	2	1	-	-	3
Uto-Aztecan	1	-	1	-	2
Mayan	1	-	-	-	1
Oth. MA Ind.	2	-	1	-	3
South Amer. Ind.	-	1	-	-	1

Table 2.15 (Continued - 3)

Language	Highest Degree				Total
	PhD	PhD Cand	MA/MS	BA/BS	
Korean	1	-	1	-	2
Basque	1	-	-	-	1
Australian	1	-	-	-	1
Sign languages	1	-	-	-	1
Other	1	-	-	-	1
TOTAL number of respondents[a]	155	24	15	5	199

Source: LSA Membership Survey, 1973.

a/ Total number of respondents reporting a language specialization. Some reported more than one.

Table 2.16. Linguists in the Work Force: Research Subjects (Broad), 1973.

Research Subject	Highest Degree					Total	
	PhD		PhD Cand	MA/MS	BA/BS		
	No.	%				No.	%
Hist. & comp. ling	20	8.3	-	-	-	20	7.1
Socioling/dialectology	30	12.5	7	-	-	37	13.1
Mis. topics in gen. ling.	10	4.2	2	-	-	12	4.2
Theory of lang.	15	6.3	1	1	-	17	6.0
Syntax	12	5.0	7	-	-	19	6.7
Phonology	22	9.2	2	-	1	25	8.8
Semantics	20	8.3	3	-	1	24	8.5
Other topics in theoret. ling.	3	1.3	1	-	1	5	1.8
Applied linguistics	15	6.3	2	1	1	19	6.7
English linguistics	28	11.7	2	-	-	30	10.6
Foreign lang/linguistics	139	57.9	12	4	2	157	55.5
Phonetics	6	2.5	1	-	1	8	2.8
Communication science	3	1.3	-	-	-	3	1.1
Psycholinguistics	36	15.0	2	2	-	40	14.1
Anthropological ling.	5	2.1	-	-	1	6	2.1
Computational ling.	6	2.5	3	1	-	10	3.5
Ling & literature	8	3.3	2	1	-	11	3.9
Other fields	15	6.3	-	1	1	17	6.0
TOTAL number of respondents[a]	240		27	11	5	283	

Source: LSA Membership Survey, 1973.

a/ Up to three subjects per respondent were tabulated. Most listed one or two.

Table 2.17. Linguists in the Work Force: Research Subjects (Narrow), 1973.

Research Subject	Highest Degree				Total
	PhD	PhD Cand	MA/MS	BA/BS	
Hist. & comp. ling	20	-	-	-	20
Sociolinguistics	14	2	-	-	16
Dialectology	3	1	-	-	4
Languages in contact	3	1	-	-	4
Bilingualism	3	-	-	-	3
Lang. planning	1	-	-	-	1
English dialects	3	3	-	-	6
Language attitudes	2	-	-	-	2
Sex roles and lang.	1	-	-	-	1
Writing systems	-	1	-	-	1
Semiotics	1	-	-	-	1
Hist. of linguistics	6	-	-	-	6
Lexicography	3	1	-	-	4
Linguistic theory	15	1	1	-	17
Syntax	12	7	1	-	20
Phonology	22	2	-	1	27
Morphology	1	-	-	-	1
Semantics	20	3	-	1	24
Discourse anal.	1	-	-	-	1
Lang. universals	1	1	-	1	3
Applied linguistics	1	-	-	-	1
Ling. and education	2	1	-	-	3
Sec. lang. teaching	6	-	1	-	7
Contrastive anal.	3	1	-	-	4
TESOL	3	-	-	-	3
Eng. linguistics	1	-	-	-	1
Structure of Eng.	21	2	1	-	24
Hist. of Eng.	5	-	-	-	5
Other Eng. ling.	1	-	-	-	1
Foreign lang/linguistics[a]	139	12	4	2	157
Phonetics	6	1	-	1	8
Communication science	3	-	-	-	3

[a] A breakdown by specific languages and language families appears in Table 2.18.

Table 2.17 (Continued)

	Highest Degree				
Research Subject	PhD	PhD Cand	MA/MS	BA/BS	Total
Psycho linguistics (general)	9	-	1	-	10
Tests & measurement	1	-	-	-	1
Lang. pathology	4	-	1	-	5
Sec. lang. acquis.	3	-	-	-	3
First lang. acquis.	15	2	-	-	17
Speech perception	4	-	-	-	4
Anthropol. ling.	5	-	-	1	6
Comp. ling.	6	3	1	-	10
Math. ling.	-	-	-	1	1
Phil. of lang.	1	-	-	-	1
Ling. & lit.	8	2	1	-	11
Stat. ling.	1	-	-	-	1
Neuroling.	4	-	-	-	4
Other fields	9	-	1	-	10
TOTAL number of respondents[b]	240	27	11	5	283

Source: LSA Membership Survey, 1973.

b/ Up to three subjects per respondent were tabulated.

Table 2.18. Linguists in the Work Force:
Foreign Languages as Research Subject, 1973.

Language	Highest Degree				Total
	PhD	PhD Cand	MA/MS	BA/BS	
French	8	1	-	-	9
Spanish	6	1	1	1	9
Italian	-	2	-	-	2
German	6	-	-	-	6
Russian	3	-	1	-	4
Germanic	3	-	-	-	3
Romance	4	-	1	-	5
Slavic	3	2	-	-	5
Indo-European	7	-	-	-	7
Greek	4	-	-	-	4
Danish	1	-	-	-	1
Norwegian	1	-	-	-	1
Dutch	2	-	-	-	2
Historical Germanic	3	-	-	-	3
Czech/Slovak	2	-	-	-	2
Serbo-Croatian	1	-	-	-	1
Baltic	1	-	-	-	1
Lithuanian	1	-	-	-	1
Celtic	1	-	-	-	1
Armenian	1	-	-	-	1
Romany	1	-	-	-	1
Balkan	1	-	-	-	1
Iranian	1	-	-	-	1
Hindi/Urdu	1	2	-	-	3
Tamil	-	1	-	-	1
Mundu	1	-	-	-	1
Arabic	1	-	-	-	1
Hebrew	1	-	-	-	1
Amharic	1	-	-	-	1
Berber	1	-	-	-	1
African	1	-	-	-	1
Bantu	-	1	-	-	1
Swahili	1	-	-	-	1
Yoruba	2	-	-	-	2
Other African	1	-	-	-	1

Table 2.18 (Continued - 2)

Language	Highest Degree				Total
	PhD	PhD Cand	MA/MS	BA/BS	
Chinese	6	1	-	-	7
Japanese	4	-	-	-	4
Sino-Tibetan	1	-	-	-	1
Burmese	1	-	-	-	1
Southeast Asian	1	-	-	-	1
Mon-Khmer	1	-	-	-	1
Cambodian	1	-	-	-	1
Vietnamese	2	-	-	-	2
Thai	2	-	-	-	2
Malayo-Polynesian	2	-	-	-	2
Philippine	1	-	1	-	2
Polynesian	-	-	-	1	1
Other Mal-Poly	1	-	-	-	1
Uralic	1	-	-	-	1
Finnish	1	-	-	-	1
Other Uralic	1	-	-	-	1
Altaic	1	-	-	-	1
Turkish	2	-	-	-	2
Other Turkic	1	-	-	-	1
Amerindian	4	-	-	-	4
Eskimo-Aleut	1	-	-	-	1
Athapaskan	5	-	-	-	5
Other Na-Dene	1	-	-	-	1
Algonquian	3	-	-	-	3
Muskogean	1	-	-	-	1
Sioux	1	-	-	-	1
Iroquoian	1	-	-	-	1
Hokan	2	-	-	-	2
Penutian	3	-	-	-	3
Other N.A. Indian	2	1	-	-	3
Uto-Aztecan	2	-	-	-	2
Mayan	2	-	-	-	2
Other S. A. Indian	1	-	-	-	1
Korean	1	-	-	-	1
Basque	1	-	-	-	1
Papuan	1	-	-	-	1

Table 2.18 (Continued - 3)

Language	Highest Degree				Total
	PhD	PhD Cand	MA/MS	BA/BS	
Creoles-Pidgins	3	-	-	-	3
Sign Languages	1	-	-	-	1
Other	1	-	-	-	1
TOTAL number of language research topics reported[a]	139	12	4	2	157

Source: LSA Membership Survey, 1973.

a/ Some respondents were doing work in more than one language.

Table 2.19. Linguists: Type of Employer, 1973.

	No. of Linguists Employed			
Type of Employer	Total No.	%	No. of PhDs	%
4-Yr institutions	284	84.0	242	91.0
2-Yr institutions	4	1.2	2	0.8
Academic Subtotal	288	85.2	244	91.8
Fed. govt.	10	3.0	4	1.5
Elem. or sec. school	12	3.6	2	0.8
Private business	9	2.7	4	1.5
Other	19	5.6	12	4.5
Non-Acad. Subtotal	50	14.8	22	8.3
TOTAL	338	100.0	266	100.0

Source: LSA Membership Survey, 1973.

Table 2.20. Linguists: Type of Employer, 1970.

Type of Employer	Highest Degree					Total	
	PhD		Master's	Bach.	Oth/NR	No.	%
	No.	%					
Acad. institutions	1000	90.7	303	69	12	1384	81.3
Elem. or sec. schools	8	.7	23	2	-	33	1.9
Fed. govt.	16	1.5	25	9	3	53	3.1
Oth. govt.	3	.3	4	-	-	7	.4
Non-profit	45	4.1	57	22	3	127	7.5
Ind/business	18	1.6	27	9	-	54	3.2
Self-employed	5	.5	4	1	-	10	.6
Military	1	.1	3	7	-	11	.7
Other	7	.6	14	3	-	24	1.4
TOTAL	1103	100.1	460	122	18	1703	100.1

Source: NRSTP, 1970, Special committee tabulations.

employed in the non-academic sector declined correspondingly. (See Table 2.21). Although the total number of Registrants increased by about 40% (from 1351 to 1902) the number employed outside of universities and colleges did not increase at all. (See Section 2.4.1 for details.) The years covered by the Registers were a period of rapid expansion in university linguistics departments. The boom ended suddenly in 1970 or 1971, while the number of linguists continued to increase rapidly (see Sections 3.1.3 and 3.3.2). Comparison between the 1970 and 1973 figures, however, shows that the non-academic sector has not expanded to take up the slack but has remained at the 1970 level. We will discuss different employer types in more detail in Sections 2.3.1 and 2.4.1.

2.2.10 Work Activity

Teaching is the predominant work activity of linguists. Asked to estimate the percentage of their working time devoted to various activities, 63% of the working linguists in the LSA Membership Survey listed teaching as their single most time-consuming work activity. If those indicating teaching as equal with research or administration are included, that figure rises to 70%. Research was reported as the primary responsibility of 11%; if situations where research is equal to teaching or administration are included, 21%.[1] Secondary work activities were tabulated only if they occupied twenty percent or more of a respondent's time. While teaching was either the primary or secondary work activity of 94% of the work force, research so occupied only 48%; i.e., more than half of all working linguists spend less than 20% of their working time on research.

2.2.11 Salary

The median annual salary for full-time employed linguists in 1973 was $13,200 for a 9-10 month year and $14,700 for an 11-12 month year, according to the LSA Membership Survey. As expected, salaries rose with degree level: for 9-10 months the median salary for PhD's was $14,200; for doctoral candidates $10,700; and for MA's $11,200. For 11-12 months PhD's earned a median salary of $15,500 and MA's $11,700. See Tables 2.23 and 2.24. (The median salary for those not indicating a base time period-17, all but one PhD's-was $15,500.)

Salaries also varied with the number of years since receipt of the PhD, as Table 2.25 shows. The median salary for responding LSA members who earned their PhD prior to 1960 was $20,000; between 1960-63, $18,200; 1964-66, $15,200; 1967-69, $13,200; 1970-71, $12,200; and in 1972, $11,200.

The range in linguists' salaries is not great. Three-quarters of the respondents to the LSA Membership Survey made between $10,000 and $20,000 a year. Only fourteen--6.6% of the PhD's or 5.4% of the entire group made $25,000 or more per year, and only four--fewer than 2%--made $30,000 a year or more.

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[1] For one who reports 75% of his working as spent in teaching and 25% in research, teaching is the primary work activity. For one who spends 50% of his working time teaching and 50% in research, teaching is a primary work activity, as is research. This latter type is counted in both the 70% teaching figure and the 21% research figure.

Table 2.21. Linguists: Type of Employer, 1964-1970.

Type of Employer	1964		1966		1968		1970	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Educ. institutions[a]	930	68.8	889	70.1	1121	72.7	1417	74.5
Fed. govt.	72	5.3	58	4.6	58	3.8	53	2.8
Other govt.	25	1.9	18	1.4	15	1.0	7	.4
Military	1	.1	4	.3	4	.3	11	.6
Non-profit	100	7.4	84	6.6	118	7.7	127	6.7
Ind & Bus	64	4.7	43	3.4	41	2.7	54	2.8
Self-employed	4	.3	4	.3	10	.7	10	.5
Other	10	.7	8	.6	15	1.0	24	1.3
Not employed	126	9.3	146	11.5	110	7.1	187	9.8
No report	19	1.4	15	1.2	49	3.2	12	.6
TOTAL	1351	99.9	1269	100.0	1541	100.2	1902	100.0

Source: NRSTP, 1964, 1966, 1968, 1970.
NOTE: 1970 percentages differ from those in Table 2.20 because the latter includes only employed linguists.

a/ Includes both higher education and elementary and secondary schools. In 1970, 98% in this category were at colleges and universities.

Table 2.22. Linguists: Primary and Secondary Work Activity, 1973.

Work Activity	Primary						Secondary					
	PhD	PhD Cand	Master's	Bach	Total	%	PhD	PhD Cand	Master's	Bach	Total	%[a]
Teaching	160	29	21	3	213	63.0	84	3	1	-	88	26.0
Research	32	4	2	-	38	11.2	82	11	4	-	97	28.7
Administration	21	-	3	-	24	7.1	12	4	4	-	20	5.9
Tchg & res	27	-	2	2	31	9.2	6	1	-	-	7	2.1
Tchg & admin	3	1	1	-	5	1.5	8	-	-	-	8	2.4
Res & admin	1	-	-	-	1	0.3	7	1	-	-	8	2.4
Tchg, res & admin	5	-	-	1	6	1.8	-	-	-	-	-	-
One of above & other	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	0.3
Other	11	4	4	1	20	5.9	10	1	3	-	14	4.1
TOTAL	260	38	33	7	338	100.0	210	21	12	-	243	71.9

Source: LSA Membership Survey, 1973.

NOTE: Primary and secondary defined as first and second most time consuming work activities. No activity consuming less than 20% of a respondent's working time was included in either category.

a/ As percentage of total reporting primary work activity (364 respondents).

Table 2.23. Annual Salary of Full-Time Employed Linguists (9-10 mo. yr.), 1973.

Salary	Highest Degree			Total
	PhD	PhD Cand.	Highest Master's	
Less than $8,000	-	1	-	1
8,000-9,999	4	4	4	12
10,000-11,999	30	8	3	41
12,000-13,999	45	3	3	51
14,000-15,999	23	-	-	23
16,000-17,999	13	-	1	14
18,000-19,999	13	-	-	13
20,000-21,999	12	1	-	13
22,000-23,999	8	-	-	8
24,000-25,999	6	-	-	6
26,000-27,999	2	-	-	2
28,000-29,999	1	-	-	1
30,000	2	-	-	2
TOTAL	159	17	11	187
Median Salary	$14,200	$10,700	$11,200	$13,200

Source: LSA Membership Survey, 1973.

Table 2.24. Annual Salary of Full-Time Employed Linguists (11-12 mo. yr.), 1973.

Salary	Highest Degree				Total
	PhD	PhD Cand.	Master's	Bach.	
Less than $8,000	2	-	-	-	2
8,000-9,999	1	-	3	-	4
10,000-11,999	7	2	2	-	11
12,000-13,999	3	1	1	1	6
14,000-15,999	7	-	-	-	7
16,000-17,999	5	1	2	-	8
18,000-19,999	3	-	-	-	3
20,000-21,999	2	1	-	-	3
22,000-23,999	2	-	2	-	4
24,000-25,999	1	-	1	-	2
26,000-27,999	2	-	-	-	2
28,000-29,999	1	-	-	-	1
30,000 and over	2	-	-	-	2
TOTAL	38	5	11	1	55
Median Salary	$15,500	*	$11,700	*	$14,700

Source: LSA Membership Survey, 1973.

* No Median calculated.

Table 2.25. Annual Salary of Full-Time Employed Linguists by Year of Receipt of PhD, 1973.

	Year of Receipt of PhD								
Salary	Pre-1950	1950-9	1960-3	1964-6	1967-9	1970	1971	1972	1973
Less than $8,000									1
8,000-9,999						2		2	
10,000-11,999		1		1	7	4	8	7	
12,000-13,999	1		2	9	20	7	8	3	
14,000-15,999		3	7	12	9	4	2		
16,000-17,999	1	4	3	5	2	1	1		
18,000-19,999	4	5	6	2	1				
20,000-21,999	2	7	4	3					
22,000-23,999	1	5		2	1				
24,000-25,999	4	2							
26,000-27,999		2	2		1				
28,000-29,999	1		1					1	
30,000 and over	1	3							
TOTAL	15	32	25	34	41	18	19	13	1
Median Salary	$20,200	$20,200	$18,200	$15,200	$13,200	$12,200	$12,200	$11,200	*

Source: LSA Survey, 1973.

Salary statistics from the NRSTP, in Table 2.26, though outdated, are of interest for comparative purposes. The median salaries of linguists increased from $9,000 in 1964 to $12,500 in 1970. The highest salaries were paid by private industry ($18,000 median salary in 1970), followed by the federal government ($15,600 median salary, 1970). Lowest salaries were paid by non-profit organizations ($10,000 median, 1970).

The types of work most highly remunerated have been management of research and development ($20,000 median in 1970) and management and administration in general ($17,900 median in 1970). The median salary in 1970 for researchers was $12,500 and for teachers $12,000.

2.3 The Academic Work Force

2.3.1 Type of Employing Institution

We classified academic institutions by the highest linguistics degree they offered: PhD, master's, bachelor's, doctorate or masters in another major with a concentration on linguistics, other four-year institutions, and two-year institutions. When classified by the type at which they work, linguists are concentrated at the extreme ends of this scale, as Table 2.27 shows. Close to 50% of the linguists employed by academic institutions are at schools offering the PhD in linguistics and 25% are employed by schools offering neither a major nor a graduate minor in linguistics.

Statistics derived from University Resources[1] support this finding generally, as Table 2.28 shows. (Since linguists at schools offering fewer than three linguistics courses are not listed in these volumes, the "other" group is not covered as fully as in the LSA Membership Survey.) The statistics are inconclusive as to trends, except that the percentage working in PhD granting institutions seems to be decreasing.

2.3.2 Training

Eighty-five percent of the academically employed linguists responding to the LSA Membership Survey held the PhD. Another ten percent were PhD candidates, leaving only 5% below that level. (See Table 2.29). According to department and program heads, about 90% of their staff members hold the PhD.

According to the 1970 National Register of Scientific and Technical Personnel, a lower percentage--72%--of the linguists employed by colleges and universities hold the PhD and 22% hold the master's degree. (See Table 2.30). A cross-tabulation of PhD's by graduating institution and type of academic employing institution appears in Table 2.31.

1/ University Resources in the U. S. and Canada for the Study of Linguistics, 1966, 1969-70, 1971-72. (Washington, D. C.: Center for Applied Linguistics and the Secretariat of the Linguistic Society of America).

Table 2.26. Salaries of Full-Time Employed Linguists, 1964-70, by Highest Degree, Type of Employer, and Work Activity

	1964		1966		1968		1970	
	No.	Med Sal	No.	Med Sal	No.	Med Sal	No.	Med Sal
TOTAL	1,351	$ 9,000	1,269	$10,000	1,541	$11,500	1,902	$12,500
Highest Degree								
PhD	729	10,000	750	11,000	955	12,200	1,134	13,500
Professional medical	2	-	-	-	2	-	1	-
Master's	407	7,100	348	8,200	413	9,000	585	10,300
Bachelor's	162	6,300	137	6,800	134	9,000	161	10,200
Less than bachelor's	1	-	1	-	1	-	2	-
No Report	50	9,500	33	10,000	36	-	19	-
Type of Employer								
Educational Acad Yr	-	-	-	10,000	-	11,200	-	12,500
Institutions Cal Yr	930	9,000	889	10,500	1,121	12,000	1,417	13,000
Federal government	72	10,700	58	12,000	58	13,500	53	15,600
Other government	25	-	18	-	15	-	7	-
Military	1	-	4	-	4	-	11	-
Nonprofit organization	100	5,000	84	6,000	118	7,800	127	10,000
Industry and business	64	12,000	43	13,800	41	16,000	54	18,000
Self-employed	4	-	4	-	10	-	10	-
Other	10	-	8	-	15	-	24	-
Not employed	126	-	146	-	110	-	187	-
No report	9	-	15	-	49	-	12	-
Work Activity								
Research and development	214	9,600	233	10,400	246	11,500	282	12,500
Basic research	(132)	10,000	(152)	(10,600)	(160)	(12,000)	(202)	(12,900)
Applied research	(77)	8,400	(80)	(10,000)	(86)	(10,800)	(79)	(12,500)
Management or admin	171	11,200	130	12,900	164	16,000	215	17,900
Management or admin of research & devel	(64)	12,000	(45)	(15,500)	([illegible]4)	(17,500)	(58)	(20,000)
Teaching Acad Yr	-	-	-	9,600	-	11,000	-	-
Cal Yr	695	8,500	628	9,700	812	11,000	1,013	12,000
Production & inspection	4	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Consulting	-	-	-	-	18	-	22	-
Exploration, forecasting, reporting	-	-	-	-	62	9,600	58	12,500
Other	81	8,000	72	[illegible],000	20	-	62	12,000
Not employed	126	-	146	-	110	-	187	-
No report	60	9,000	60	10,000	109	13,000	62	15,000
Salary Distribution								
Lower decile		$ 5,800		$ 6,500		$ 8,000		-
Lower quartile		7,200		8,200		9,500		-
Median		9,000		10,000		11,500		$12,500
Upper quartile		11,800		13,000		15,000		-
Upper decile		15,000		16,500		19,000		-

Source: NRSTP, 1964, 1966, 1968, 1970.

Table 2.27. Linguists: Type of Academic Employer (by Highest Linguistics Degree Offered), 1973.

Type of Academic Employer (by highest linguistics degree offered	No. of Linguists Employed			
	Total No.[a]	%	No. of PhD's	%
PhD: 14 most prestigious depts.[b]	64	22.5	58	24.1
PhD: Other depts.	75	26.3	65	27.0
PhD in linguistics: Subtotal	139	48.8	123	51.1
Master's in linguistics	34	11.9	32	13.3
Bach's in linguistics	10	3.5	8	3.3
PhD or Master's in another major with concentration in linguistics	19	6.7	17	7.1
Other four year institutions	79	27.7	59	24.5
Two-year institutions	4	1.4	2	0.8
TOTAL	385	100.0	241	100.1

Source: LSA Membership Survey, 1973.

a/ Includes linguists at all degree levels employed by institutions.
b/ According to Roose and Andersen, A Rating of Graduate Programs, American Council on Education, Washington, D. C.: 1970. See Chapter I.

Table 2.28. Linguists: Type of Academic Employer (by Highest Linguistics Degree Offered), 1966-1972.

Type of Acad. Employer (by highest lings. degree offered)	1966		1969-70		1971-72	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
PhD in linguistics	556	54.1	882	49.6	1099	49.3
Master's in linguistics	162	15.8	183	10.3	333	15.0
Bachelor's in linguistics	12	1.2	101	5.7	158	7.1
Other	297	28.9	612	34.4	638	28.6
TOTAL	1027	100.0	1778	100.0	2228	100.0

Source: University Resources, 1966, 1969-70, 1971-72.

Table 2.29. Academically Employed Linguists: Degree Level, 1973.

Degree Level	No. of Linguists	%
PhD	244	84.7
PhD Candidate	28	9.7
Master's	13	4.5
Bach.	3	1.0
TOTAL	288	99.9

Source: LSA Membership Survey, 1973.

Table 2.30. Academically Employed Linguists: Highest Degree, 1970.

Highest Degree	Number	%
PhD	1,000	72.3
Master's	303	21.9
Bachelor's	69	5.0
Other or no report	12	0.9
TOTAL	1,384	100.1

Source: NRSTP, 1970, Special committee tabulations.

Table 2.31. Academically Employed Linguists: Institution of Employment by Institution of Doctorate, 1970.

Institution Granting PhD	Employing Acad. Inst.				Total	Same[b]
	14 Most Pres[a]	Other PhD granting	Total PhD granting	All Others		
Michigan	31	29	60	41	101	15
Harvard	30	17	47	26	73	9
Texas	14	13	27	36	63	9
Columbia	10	7	17	32	49	2
Georgetown	2	3	5	22	27	6
Yale	20	11	31	15	46	10
Pennsylvania	8	12	20	27	47	4
Berkeley	18	8	26	14	40	5
Cornell	11	5	16	12	28	6
UCLA	12	4	16	8	24	6
Chicago	9	9	18	12	30	3
Wisconsin	12	12	24	20	44	3
Indiana	6	17	23	23	46	1
Illinois	10	9	19	19	38	2
SUNY - Buffalo	8	3	11	13	24	-
Princeton	3	6	9	10	19	1
Washington	--	5	5	7	12	1
New York University	--	3	3	13	16	2
Stanford	1	9	10	7	17	-
Iowa	1	1	2	15	17	1
North Carolina	2	4	6	8	14	1
Minnesota	1	4	5	8	13	2
Ohio State	1	--	1	7	8	-
MIT	8	4	12	3	15	2
Hartford Seminary	1	1	2	2	4	
Hawaii	--	--	--	--	--	-
Johns Hopkins	--	4	4	8	12	-
Michigan State	--	4	4	1	5	3
Virginia	2	--	2	5	7	-
Northwestern	--	--	--	4	4	-
Rochester	--	1	1	2	3	1
Louisiana State	--	1	1	8	9	-
Columbia Tchrs Col	1	1	2	4	6	-
Brown	--	1	1	2	3	-
Canadian universities	1	1	2	3	5	2
Universities in England	--	2	2	4	6	-
Other	28	13	41	73	114	-
TOTAL PHDs EMPLOYED	251	224	476	523	989	-

Source: NRSTP, 1970, Special committee tabulations.

a/ See Chapter I.
b/ i.e. the number of its own PhD graduates currently employed by each institution.

2.3.3 Work Activity

As with the work force in general, teaching is by far the most important work activity of linguists working at colleges and universities: our 1973 survey showed that it was the sole primary work activity of 65% of linguists academically employed and one of the primary work activities of over three-quarters.[1] Only about one-fourth of the sample had research as a primary work activity and for about half of those, teaching or administration was equally time-consuming. The number engaged in any other work activities was small. See Table 2.32 for details.

So few of the academically employed LSA members were not PhD's that that survey permits no conclusions as to the relationship of work activity and degree level. The 1970 National Register indicates that the higher one's degree level, the more likely one is to be teaching and the less likely one is to be doing research as a primary work activity. 72.6% of all academically employed linguists holding the PhD listed teaching as their primary work; 11.9% listed research and 10.1% listed management or administration as their primary work. 68.8% of those holding the master's listed teaching as their primary work, 15.9% listed research, and 5.6% administration. In contrast, of those at the bachelor's level only 40.6% reported teaching, while 30.5% worked primarily in research. See Table 2.33 for details.

2.3.4 Department and Type of Courses Taught

For the most part linguists hold their appointments outside departments of linguistics. According to the LSA Membership Survey only one fourth (26.9%) of all academically employed linguists are in linguistics departments. English departments employ almost as many (21.7%), as do foreign language departments (22.7%). The only other department employing a substantial number is anthropology with 8.4%. Another 8.4% hold joint appointments. See Table 2.34. The degree level of the linguists employed is not an important variable here.

University Resources shows only the split between linguistics and other departments. The figures as to the percentage of linguists actually employed in linguistics departments are consistent with the findings of the LSA Membership Survey and indicate a possible downward trend over time. See Table 2.35.

The subjects taught by our respondents illustrate the deep professional involvement of linguists in other fields, especially languages. 54% taught at least one course in language or literature, and another 15% taught other subjects.[2] Almost all did teach at least one linguistics course, including interdisciplinary courses such as psycholinguistics and anthropological linguistics. As Table 2.36 shows, of 268 respondents reporting the subjects

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1/ i.e., It is either the most time-consuming or is equal to another activity in time consumed.

2/ The questionnaire asked respondents to classify their courses as linguistics, language/literature of a specific language, namely __________; other (specify) __________. Some respondents specified courses in the last two categories as being on the history or structure of a particular language, language and culture psycholinguistics, etc. Such courses were tabulated as linguistics, not other subjects.

Table 2.32. Academically Employed Linguists: Primary and Secondary Work Activity, 1973.

Primary Work Activity	PhD	PhD Cand.	Master's	Bach. or less	Total
Teaching	155 (63.8%)	22	10	-	187 (64.9%)
Research	30 (12.4)	3	1	-	34 (11.8)
Administration	15 (6.2)	-	-	-	15 (5.2)
Teach/research	26 (10.7)	-	1	2	29 (10.1)
Teach/admin.	3 (1.2)	1	-	-	4 (1.4)
Teach/res/admin.	5 (2.1)	-	-	1	6 (2.1)
Other	3 (1.2)	2	2	-	7 (2.4)
No report	6 (2.5)	-	-	-	6 (2.1)
TOTAL	243	28	14	3	288
Secondary Work Activity					
Teaching	31	3	-	-	34
Research	80	11	2	-	93
Administration	11	2	2	-	15
Teach/research	5	-	-	-	5
Teach/admin	8	-	-	-	8
Research/admin	6	1	-	-	7
Other	9	1	2	-	12

Source: LSA Membership Survey, 1973.

Table 2.33. Academically Employed Linguists: Primary Work Activity, 1970.

	Bach.		Master's		PhD		Other		Total	
Primary Work Activity	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Teaching	28	(40.6)	198	(68.8)	722	(72.6)	5		953	(69.9)
Full Time	20		157		707		4		888	
Part Time	8		41		15		1		65	
Writing	1		3		13	(1.3)	-		17	(1.3)
Full Time	-		2		13		-		15	
Part Time	1		1		-		-		2	
Consulting	-		-		2		-		2	(0.2)
Full Time	-		-		1				1	
Part Time	-		-		1		-		1	
Basic Research	18	(26.1)	39	(13.5)	94	(9.5)	5		156	(11.5)
Full Time	4		8		90		3		105	
Part Time	14		31		4		2		51	
Applied Research	3	(4.4)	7	(2.4)	24	(2.4)	-		34	(2.5)
Full Time	1		4		22		-		27	
Part Time	2		3		2		-		7	
Equip. Research	-		2		1		-		3	(0.2)
Full Time	-		1		1		-		2	
Part Time	-		1		-		-		1	
Production	-		1		-		-		1	
Full Time	-		1		-		-		1	
Part Time	-		-		-		-		-	
Mgmt, Res & Dev.	2	(2.9)	1		19	(1.9)	1		23	(1.7)
Full Time	2		1		17		-		20	
Part Time	-		-		2		1		3	
Mgmt, Other	5	(7.3)	16	(5.6)	81	(8.2)	1		103	(7.6)
Full Time	4		16		80		1		101	
Part Time	1		-		1		-		2	
Other	12		12		4		-		18	
Full Time	4		3		4		-		11	
Part Time	8		9		-		-		17	
No report	-		9		34		-		43	
Full Time	-		9		33		-		42	
Part Time	-		-		1		-		1	
TOTAL	69		288		994		12		1363	
Full Time	35		202		968		8		1213	
Part Time	34		86		26		4		150	

Source: NRSTP, 1970.

Table 2.34. Linguists: Academic Department of Employment, 1973.

Department	No. of Linguists Employed	Percentage
Linguistics	77	26.9%
Commonly taught foreign languages	55	19.2
Uncommonly taught foreign languages	10	3.5
English	62	21.7
TESOL	5	1.8
Anthropology	24	8.4
Psychology	3	1.1
Joint appointment	24	8.4
Other	25	8.7
No report	1	0.4
TOTAL	286	100.1%

Source: LSA Membership Survey, 1973.

Table 2.35. Academically Employed Linguists: Employment in Linguistics Departments, 1966-1972.

Type of Academic Department	1966		1969-70		1971-72	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Depts. of Linguistics	331	(30.4)	475	(26.7)	574	(25.8)
Full Time	309		411		540	
Part Time	22		64		34	
Other Depts. or Schools	758	(69.6)	1303	(73.3)	1654	(74.2)
TOTAL	1089		1778		2228	

Source: University Resources, 1966, 1969-70, 1971-72.

Table 2.36. Academically Employed Linguists: Courses Taught, 1973.

	Type of Academic Employer							
Courses Taught	PhD-14 most prestig.	PhD-Other	Masters	Bach	Other grad	None 4-yr	2-yr inst	Total
Lings, grad level	50	53	24	4	11	32	-	174 (64.9)
Lings, undergraduate	28	35	19	9	16	56	-	163 (60.8)
Foreign language-commonly taught	13	12	3	3	4	16	2	53 (19.8)
Foreign language-uncommonly taught	18	12	1	1	2	3	-	37 (13.8)
English	-	5	6	-	6	24	1	42 (15.7)
TESOL	-	2	5	1	1	3	-	12 (4.5)
Anthropology	1	2	4	1	2	4	-	14 (5.2)
Psychology	-	1	1	-	-	2	-	4 (1.5)
Combination	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	3 (1.1)
Other	7	6	1	-	1	5	-	20 (7.5)

Source: LSA Membership Survey, 1973.

NOTE: 268 persons reported type of courses taught.

they taught, 65% taught one or more graduate level courses in linguistics, and 61% taught one or more undergraduate linguistics courses. Many taught at least one language course: 19.8% taught commonly taught foreign languages, 15.7% taught English courses, and 13.8% taught uncommonly taught foreign languages. Only 4.5% reported teaching TESOL. Teaching of other subjects such as psychology or anthropology was not as frequent, and those involved usually identified with the other discipline rather than linguistics.

2.3.5 Professional Identification

We emphasize again that not everyone denominated a linguist for purposes of this study regards himself as such. Table 2.37 shows the response of LSA members in the academic work force to the question "Do you regard yourself as primarily a: [linguist, anthropologist, etc.]"[1] About 60% said "linguist" (or "linguist/language specialist"), and most of the rest checked "specialist in a particular language" (27%), especially foreign language (16%). Another 14% identified with a non-language discipline. Note that all three respondents employed by psychology departments regard themselves as psychologists, while only about half those in anthropology departments regard themselves as anthropologists. Note also that many who regard themselves as linguists work outside of linguistics departments. These findings illustrate the wide scatter of linguists among various academic departments and the degree to which linguistics work is carried on by persons whose primary affiliation is with some discipline other than linguistics.

2.3.6 Rank

The distribution among academic ranks of linguists covered in our various samples appears in Tables 2.38-2.40. In brief they show that of all academically employed linguists, about 30% have the rank of full professor; a little under 25%, associate professor; and about 35%, assistant professor. Among PhD's one-third are full professors, a little over one-fourth, associate professors; and about 35% assistant professors. The percentage at the level of instructor or lecturer ranges from 6-10% according to the source, but in all, the number of PhD's is small--never over 3%. The NRSTP indicates that distribution by rank both for all linguists and for linguists with PhD's is roughly similar to that of all academically employed scientists and social scientists, but that the percentage of linguists at senior ranks is about 3 percentage points below the average for PhD's and the percentage at the assistant professor level is 3 or 4 percentage points higher. No comparisons with professors in the humanities are available.

Few linguists work as post-doctoral fellows or research associates. Only 11 of the 109 responding linguistics programs and departments have such

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1/ Choices given were linguist, anthropologist, specialist in a particular language or language family, namely: ____________, psychologist, ESOL specialist, other (specify________). The tabulations here as elsewhere in this chapter include only respondents whom we regard as linguists. See Chapter I.

Table 2.37. Academically Employed Linguists: Professional Identification by Department of Employment, 1973.

	Professional Identification									
Dept. of Employment	Linguist	Linguist and lang. specialist	For. lang. specialist	English	ESOL	Anthrop.	Psychol.	Comb.	Oth.	Total
Linguistics	62	4	6	-	4	-	-	1	-	77
Foreign language--commonly taught	19	4	31	-	-	-	-	-	-	54
Foreign language--uncommonly taught	3	3	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
English	35	2	1	17	4	-	-	-	3	62
ESOL	1	-	-	-	3	-	1	-	-	5
Anthropology	10	-	-	-	-	11	-	3	-	24
Psychology	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	3
Joint appointment	10	3	2	2	-	2	2	3	1	24
Other	14	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	11	27
TOTAL	154	16	45	19	12	13	6	6	15	286
Horizontal %	53.9%	5.6%	15.7%	6.6%	4.2%	4.6%	2.1%	2.1%	5.2%	100.0%

Source: LSA Membership Survey, 1973.

Table 2.38. Academically Employed Linguists: Rank by Highest Degree (PhD vs non PhD), Percentage, 1973.

Rank	PhD's	Total
Instructor/Lecturer	2.2%	6.2%
Assistant Professor	34.8	35.7
Associate Professor	29.9	28.1
Full Professor	33.0	30.1
	99.9	100.1

Source: Survey of Linguistics Dept and Prog Heads, 1973.

Rank	PhD's	Total
Teach/Res. Assoc.	.8%	1.1%
Instructor/Lecturer	.4	7.7
Assistant Professor	38.3	36.2
Associate Professor	25.0	22.4
Full Professor	34.2	29.1
Other	1.2	3.5
	99.9	100.0

Source: LSA Membership Survey, 1973.

Table 2.39. Academically Employed Linguists: Rank, 1971-72

Rank	Total Number	%
Instructor/Lecturer	187	9.2
Assistant Professor	730	35.8
Associate Professor	527	25.9
Full Professor	581	28.5
Other	12	0.6
TOTAL	2037	100.0

Source: University Resources, 1971-72

Table 2.40. Academically Employed Linguists: Rank by Full vs. Part-time Status, 1970.

	PhD's		Total			
Rank	Total No.	%	Full-Time	Part-Time	Total No.	%
Teaching/Res. Assoc.	9	0.9	9	9	18	1.4
Instruc./Lect.	27	2.8	105	24	129	10.2
Asst. Professor	312	32.3	409	3	412	32.7
Assoc. Professor	264	27.3	279	-	279	22.1
Full Professor	339	35.1	352	3	355	28.1
Other	15	1.6	22	47	69	5.5
TOTAL	966	100.0	1176	86	1262	100.0

Source: NRSTP, 1970, Special committee tabulations.

positions: ten are PhD programs with a total of 29 positions and one is a master's program with three psoitions. Two surveys of individuals--the 1973 LSA Membership Survey and the 1970 NRSTP--turned up only a handful of respondents holding such appointments.

The percentage of linguists at each rank not holding the PhD appears in Table 2.41. Most instructors and lecturers are not PhD's, while most full professors are (97-99%), as are most associate professors (about 95%). Figures for assistant professors differ according to the survey used. The 1970 NRSTP indicates that almost one-fourth of the assistant professors do not have doctorates, while our 1973 surveys show only 11 or 12%. Both the three-year time lapse--given the increasing availability of linguistics PhD's--and differing compositions of the samples--especially in age--may play a role in the difference.

The exact numbers of linguists without PhD's in each survey and their distribution by academic rank is given in Table 2.42.

2.3.7 Salary

According to the LSA Membership Survey, the median salary of all academically employed respondents in 1973 was $13,700 per year. For PhD's it was $14,200 and for those with lesser degrees, it was $10,500. (Almost all of these respondents held a PhD--only 11 did not). See Table 2.43. By rank, assistant professors made a median annual salary of $12,200; associate professors, $14,700; and full professors $20,200.

Similar figures were derived from the data reported by department and program heads. As Table 2.44 shows median salaries reported in this source were substantially the same for assistant and associate professors, but the figure for full professors - $19,000, was slightly lower. The PhD granting institutions offered salaries $1,000 higher in the senior ranks (full and associate professor). Otherwise, there were no particular differences in salaries among types of institutions.

The median salaries reported by LSA members in 1973 are between 11% and 14% higher than those shown in the 1970 NRSTP.[1] Table 2.45 also includes median salaries for academically-employed scientific and technical personnel generally, which show that on the average, linguists received lower salaries than Register respondents in other fields. The median salary for academically-employed linguists in 1970 was $12,300 as compared to $13,500 overall.

2.4 The Non-Academic Work Force

The number of linguists employed outside colleges and universities is less than 15% of the entire linguistics work force. With the recent slow-down in

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[1] The respondents to the 1970 and 1973 surveys are not entirely comparable, however. For example, 24% of the assistant professors in the former as opposed to 11% in the latter did not have a PhD.

Table 2.41. Percentage of Linguists at Each Academic Rank Without PhD, 1970 and 1973.

Survey

Rank	NRSTP 1970	LSA Mem. Sur., 1973	Sur. of Dept/Prog. Heads, 1973
Instructor/Lecturer	80.7	95.7	67.4
Assistant Professor	24.1	10.7	12.4
Associate Professor	4.3	6.3	4.3
Full Professor	3.2	1.0	1.3

Sources: LSA Membership Survey, 1973.
NRSTP, 1970.
Survey of Linguistics Dept. and Prog. Heads, 1973.

Table 2.42. Academic Rank of Linguists Without PhD, 1970 and 1973.

Survey

Rank	NRSTP 1970		LSA Mem. Sur., 1973		Sur. of Dept/Prog. Heads, 1973	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Instructor/Lecturer	102	30.4	22	48.9	31	40.8
Assistant Professor	100	29.8	11	24.4	33	43.4
Associate Professor	15	4.5	4	8.9	9	11.8
Full Professor	16	4.8	1	2.2	3	4.0
Other	103	30.7	7	15.6	-	-
TOTAL	336	100.2	45	100.0	76	100.0

Sources: NRSTP, 1970.
LSA Membership Survey, 1973.
Survey of Linguistics Dept. and Prog. Heads, 1973.

Table 2.43. Academically Employed Linguists: Annual Salary by Rank and Highest Degree (PhD vs. Non-PhD), 1973.

(Total 9-10 Months and 11-12 Months Full-Time Combined.)

Salary	Tchg & Res Assist		Inst/Lect		Assist Prof		Assoc Prof		Full Prof		All Ranks	
	PhD	Total	PhD	Total	PhD	Total	PhD	Total	PhD	Total	PhD	Total
$8,000-10,000	1	2	-	5	1	2	-	-	-	-	2	9
10,000-12,000	1	1	-	5	32	37	1	2	1	1	35	46
12,000-14,000	-	-	-	1	34	37	16	17	-	-	50	55
14,000-16,000	-	-	-	-	8	8	21	21	5	5	34	34
16,000-18,000	-	-	-	-	2	2	10	10	5	6	17	18
18,000-20,000	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	17	17	18	18
20,000-22,000	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	13	13	15	15
22,000-25,000	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	12	12	12
25,000-30,000	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	8	8	8
30,000 & over	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3	3	3
Median	*	*	*	*	$12,200	$12,200	$14,700	$14,700	$20,200	$20,200	$14,200	$13,700

Source: LSA Membership Survey, 1973.

* No median calculated.

Table 2.44. Academically Employed Linguists: Median Salary by Rank, 1973.

Rank	Median Salary
Instructor	$10,000
Assistant Professor	$12,500
Associate Professor	$14,500
Full Professor	$19,000

Source: Survey of Linguistics Dept and Prog Heads, 1973.

Table 2.45. Median Annual Salary of College and University Teachers, by Field, Salary Base and Academic Rank, 1970.

Sci and Tech Field and Salary Base	Total	Academic Rank									
		Dean	Prof	Assoc Prof	Asst Prof	Instruc	Lect	Res Assoc	Res Asst	Other	No Report of Academic Rank
All fields	13,500	21,700	18,500	14,000	11,500	9,200	11,000	10,000	3,600	8,300	13,000
Academ. yr base	12,500	17,000	17,400	13,200	11,000	9,000	10,200	9,000	3,200	10,200	12,500
cal. yr base	16,000	22,000	21,000	16,500	13,500	10,000	12,000	10,000	3,800	8,600	13,700
no report	13,200	22,000	18,300	13,900	11,500	9,200	10,100	10,000	3,800	7,200	13,000
Linguistics	12,300	-	17,800	13,000	11,000	9,000	9,600	-	-	-	-
academ. yr base	12,300	-	17,500	13,000	11,000	9,000	-	-	-	-	-
cal. yr base	12,300	-	17,900	14,000	11,000	-	-	-	-	-	-
no report	12,000	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Source: NRSTP, 1970.

NOTE: All median salaries were computed only for full-time employed civilian scientists. No median was computed for any group with fewer than 25 registrants reporting salary.

academic hiring, however, those concerned about the linguistics job market are looking to the non-academic sector for employment opportunities. We have therefore analyzed our data on this sector closely.

In general, the employers and types of work available to linguists outside colleges and universities are quite diverse, and the salaries and professional characteristics of linguists working there reflect this diversity. In contrast to the academic sector, linguists without a doctorate are in the majority, and some perform the research and management activities from which they seem largely excluded in colleges and universities. Even though non-academic employment may offer better opportunities for linguists below the doctoral level, only a minority--about a third--of them have found employment there.

Over the last ten years the number of non-academic linguists positions available has remained static; i.e., representing a declining percentage of the growing work force. In the last few years, more linguists may have joined elementary and secondary schools, but fewer seem to have entered privately-run research and development.

2.4.1 Type of Employer

Fifty (or 14.8%) of the 435 LSA members supplying information on their employer listed non-academic institutions. One-fourth of these were employed by elementary or secondary schools, one-fifth by the federal government, one-fifth by private businesses, and the rest by a variety of non-profit, religious and other institutions. See Table 2.46.

Examination of the specific agencies and institutions for which these respondents work shows that of the 11 respondents employed by federal agencies, seven are employed by language-teaching agencies, notably the Foreign Service Institute and the Defense Language Institute. The remainder are at agencies doing translating, the Library of Congress, and the Agency for International Development. Private businesses include four research organizations, three language schools, and a publishing company; self-employed respondents do educational consulting primarily. The Other category includes four respondents at non-profit research organizations, one at a language school, six in theological seminaries or the Summer Institute of Linguistics, three in adult education, one at a university extension correspondence school and one at a Veterans Administration hospital.

Parallel statistics from the National Register of Scientific and Technical Personnel appear in Table 2.47. The distribution of respondents among types of institutions varied considerably between our two studies; Over twice as many LSA respondents proportionately were at elementary and secondary schools, and far fewer at non-profit and other institutions; about the same number in each group worked for federal agencies and private businesses. The differences could be accidental or could reflect a change in the job market over the three year period.[1]

1/ Part of the difference may also be due to over-representation in the NRSTP of employees of the Center for Applied Linguistics, which directed the linguistics sector of the Register. The NRSTP was a comprehensive, not a randomly selected survey.

Table 2.46. Linguists Employed by Non-Academic Institutions: Type of Employer, 1973.

Type of Employer	Highest Degree				Total	
	PhD	PhD Cand	Master's	Bach or Less	No.	%
Elem/sec school	2	1	7	2	12	24.0%
Federal govt	4	1	4	1	10	20.0
Private bus	4	1	3	1	9	18.0
Self	4	-	-	-	4	8.0
Other	8	2	5	-	15	30.0
TOTAL	22	5	19	4	50	100.0
	(44%)	(10%)	(38%)	(8%)	(100.0%)	

Source: LSA Manpower Survey, 1973.

Table 2.47. Linguists Employed by Non-Academic Institutions: Type of Employer, 1970.

Type of Employer	Highest Degree			Total	
	PhD	Master's	Bach or Less	No.	%
Elem/sec school	8	23	2	33	10.2
Non-profit org	41	53	19	113	34.8
Research center	4	4	3	11	3.4
Federal govt	16	25	9	50	15.4
Military	1	3	7	11	3.4
State govt	-	1	-	1	0.3
Other govt	3	3	-	6	1.9
Private ind	18	27	9	54	16.6
Self employed	6	3	1	10	3.1
Other/no report	12	20	4	36	11.1
TOTAL	109	162	54	325	100.2
	(33.5%)	(49.9%)	(16.6%)		

Source: NRSTP, 1970, Special committee tabulations.

Almost thirty-five percent of the non-academically employed linguists in the Register worked for non-profit organizations, 16.6% for private industry, 15.4% for the federal government, and 10.2% for elementary or secondary schools.

Figures on the recent history of non-academic linguists employment appear in Table 2.48,[1] compiled from the 1964 through 1970 National Registers of Scientific and Technical Personnel. They indicate that the absolute number of linguists employed by non-academic institutions remained almost the same throughout this period, but the percentage of linguists so employed dropped from 22.9% in 1964 to 16.8% in 1970. The largest non-academic employer of Register linguists was non-profit organizations, increasing from 100 thus employed in 1964 to 127 in 1970.[2] The number of linguists reporting federal government employment remained static: 68 (5.6% of the linguistic work force) in 1964 and 64 (3.4% of the work force) in 1970. Employment of linguists by state and local governments, never large, dwindled from 24 in 1964 (2.1% of the linguistic work force) to 7 in 1970, (0.4% of the work force). The number of Register linguists employed by private industry also declined slightly, from 60 in 1964, to 54 in 1970. Only a few linguists reported being self-employed at any time.

That the number of linguists employed in these categories should have remained the same while the total work force increased, may reflect either the number of non-academic positions open to linguists in the 60's or a preference for academic employment. Currently, however, although linguists are available for non-academic positions, neither surveys nor informal inquires indicate that the number so employed has increased. Government agencies and private organizations are operating under restrictive budgets, just as educational institutions.

The recent experience of two of the largest non-academic employers of linguists is instructive. The Center for Applied Linguistics, a non-profit organization engaged primarily in research and clearinghouse activities, was founded in 1959. In 1963 it had a professional staff of 19; by 1966 it numbered 60; in 1969 it remained at 58; but in early 1974 it was down to about 25.

The School of Language Studies of the Foreign Service Institute maintains a staff of linguists who supervise language instruction and develop teaching materials. In the late 60's the number of linguistics positions on the Washington and field staff combined reached 43. The agency reports that it experienced some

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1/ Linguists employed by elementary and secondary schools are not included in this table, because NSF has always tabulated them with the academically employed under the heading "Educational Institution."

2/ But see note 1 on page 68.

Table 2.48. Linguists Employed by Non-Academic Institutions, 1964-1970.

	1964	1966	1968	1970
Total linguists reporting employment	1206	1108	1382	1703
Percent employed non-academically	22.9%	19.8%	18.9%	16.8%
All Non-acad. Employees: Total	276	219	261	286
PhD	78 28.7%	78 35.6%	98 37.6%	95 33.2%
Master's	107 38.8%	87 39.7%	95 36.4%	134 46.9%
Bachelor's or less	77 27.9%	43 19.6%	58 22.2%	52 18.2%
Other	2	-	1	-
No Report	12	11	9	5
Non-Profit Organizations: Total	100	84	118	127
PhD	24	29	38	45
Master's	34	32	40	57
Bachelor's or less	37	18	36	23
Other	1	-	1	-
No Report	4	5	3	2
Federal Government, including Military: Total	73	62	62	64
PhD	24	25	25	17
Master's	28	23	22	28
Bachelor's or less	16	12	10	16
Other	1	-	1	-
No Report	4	2	4	3
Industry & Business: Total	64	43	41	54
PhD	17	14	20	18
Master's	29	19	14	27
Bachelor's or less	14	8	7	9
No report	4	2	-	-
Other Government: Total	25	18	15	7
PhD	10	8	[illegible]	3
Master's	8	6	8	4
Bachelor's or less	7	4	1	-
Self-Employed: Total	4	4	10	10
PhD	1	-	3	5
Master's	1	2	4	4
Bachlor's or less	2	1	2	1
No report	-	1	1	-
Other: Total	10	8	15	24
PhD	2	2	6	7
Master's	7	5	7	14
Bachelor's or less	1	-	2	3
No report	-	1	-	-

Source: NRSTP, 1964-1970.

NOTE: Statistics in this table differ slightly from those in Tables 2.47 and 2.20 because of the exclusion here of linguists employed by secondary and elementary schools. See Note 1, p. 12.

difficulty in filling available positions: "At the time (1968), positions were relatively easy for good people to find at universities, and working for the Government was not attractive to many of the well-qualified people." No unfilled positions now exist in the School of Language Studies: their last linguist was hired in 1969. Since that time the staff has been reduced steadily by two to five positions per year, leaving a staff of 30 in 1973. The Dean does not foresee any expansion in the next five years.

2.4.2 Degree Level

Probably the most significant difference between academically and non-academically employed is degree level. As Table 2.49 shows, fewer than half the linguists employed outside colleges and universities hold a PhD--in the National Register only about one-third--as opposed to the academically employed linguists, 85% of whom in the LSA Survey and 72% of whom in the 1970 National Register were PhD's. Non PhD's outnumbered PhD's in every employer category except the self-employed. Fewer than 10% of PhD linguists work outside universities and colleges, while over one-third of those without PhD's work there.

These figures suggest that now and in the recent past, the master's may be more appropriate than the PhD for non-academic work in linguistics. They do not suggest the converse, however, that the non-academic sector provides better employment opportunities to linguists without a PhD: the total number in non-academic positions is relatively small, and over 60% of these linguists are academically employed.

2.4.3 Areas of Specialization

The areas of specialization of non-academically employed linguists in the LSA Survey differed from those of the work force in general in that more of the former are in TESOL (23% as opposed to 10%) and fewer in historical and comparative linguistics, sociolinguistics, and the theoretical specialities generally. Otherwise the two groups were similar. Almost all the non-academically employed respondents had some language specialization--foreign language, English, or TESOL. About one-fourth indicated a TESOL specialization; a fourth, specialization in applied areas exclusive of TESOL; and slightly fewer specialized in theoretical linguistics (phonology, syntax, theory of language) and psycholinguistics. Table 2.50 gives details.

The 1970 NRSTP used a different breakdown of specialties and tabulated only one per respondent (thus those data are not strictly comparable to those of the LSA Survey). Register respondents included almost no non-academic linguists in comparative and historical linguistics, and a disproportionately large number in computational linguistics ("mechanized applications"); otherwise the non-academic group was roughly similar to the overall sample. See Tables 2.51 and 2.52.

2.4.4 Professional Identification

Over half the linguists in the LSA survey employed by non-academic entities identified themselves professionally as linguists, 14% as foreign language specialists, and 14% as ESOL specialists (Table 2.53). Compared with linguists working at colleges and universities, more identified themselves as ESOL specialists, and with miscellaneous other fields and fewer as English specialists, but otherwise the two groups were similar.

Table 2.49. Academic vs. Non-Academic Employment: Comparison by Degree Level of Employers.

Percentage of academic and non-academic work force at each degree level

Degree Level	LSA Survey, 1973		NRSTP, 1970	
	Academic	Non-academic	Academic	Non-academic
PhD	84.7%	44.0%	72.3%	33.5%
PhD Candidate	9.7	10.0		
MA/MS	4.5	38.0	21.9	49.9
BA/BS	1.0	4.0	5.0	16.6
Other	-	-	0.9	-
TOTAL	99.9	100.0	100.1	100.0

Percentage of linguists at each degree level in academic and non-academic employment

Type of Employment	LSA Survey, 1973 Degree level					NRSTP, 1970 Degree level				
	PhD	PhD Cand	MA/MS	Total without PhD	Total	PhD	MA/MS	BA/BS	Total without PhD	Total
Academic	91.7	84.9	40.6	61.1	85.2	90.7	65.9	56.6	63.9	81.3
Non-academic	8.3	15.1	59.4	38.9	14.8	9.3	34.1	43.4	36.1	18.7
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	

Sources: LSA Membership Survey, 1973.
NRSTP, 1970.

Table 2.50. Linguists Employed by Non-Academic Institutions: Areas of Specialization, 1973.

Field of Spec.	Type of Employer					Total Work Force	
	Fed govt.	Ele/Sec. ed.	Priv. bus.	Other	Total	No.	%
General linguistics	1	1	-	2	4	16	4.4
Hist. & comp ling	1	1	-	1	3	41	11.3
Socioling/dialectology	-	-	-	4	4	53	14.6
Mis topics in gen ling	1	-	1	4	6	39	10.7
Theory of language	1	-	1	-	2	39	10.7
Syntax	-	-	-	2	2	40	11.0
Phonology	2	2	2	3	9	54	14.8
Semantics	-	-	-	-	-	23	6.3
Other theoretical	-	-	-	-	-	12	3.3
Applied ling, gen	2	1	1	3	7	18	5.0
Ling and education	-	-	-	2	2	9	2.5
TESOL	2	4	1	5	12	35	9.6
Other applied	3	-	1	1	5	24	6.6
English linguistics	-	2	3	4	9	73	20.1
Foreign lang/ling.	9	7	4	7	27	199	54.7
Phonetics	-	-	-	3	3	19	5.2
Communication science	-	-	-	-	-	4	1.1
Psycholinguistics	1	1	2	7	11	64	17.6
Anthropological ling	-	-	-	-	-	22	6.0
Computational ling	-	-	1	-	1	12	3.3
Mathematical ling	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.3
Philosophy of language	-	-	-	-	-	3	0.8
Ling and literature	-	1	-	-	1	24	6.6
Neurolinguistics	-	-	-	-	-	5	1.4
Other fields	1	2	-	1	4	23	6.3
TOTAL no. of respondents[a]	11	13	9	19	52	364	

Source: LSA Membership Survey, 1973.

[a] Up to four specialties per respondent were tabulated.

Table 2.51. Linguists Employed by Non-Academic Institutions: Subfield by Type of Employer, 1970.

Subfield a	Type of Employer							Total	
	Fed Govt	Oth Govt	Non-prof Org	Bus/ Ind	Self Emp'd	Mil	Other	No.	%
Applications to lang tchg.	24	3	14	8	3	1	9	62	22.3
Descriptive linguistics	6	-	35	13	2	2	3	61	21.9
General linguistics	2	-	9	1	2	1	-	15	5.4
Hist & comp linguistics	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	3	1.1
Lang in rel to other fields	3	1	8	1	3	-	2	18	6.5
Language policies	-	-	3	1	-	-	-	4	1.4
Literacy and writing systems	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2	0.7
Mechanized applications	2	-	4	11	1	-	-	18	6.5
Phonetics	1	-	-	1	-	1	1	4	1.4
Other linguistics	14	1	45	12	2	9	8	91	32.7
TOTAL	52	5	122	48	13	15	23	278	99.9

Source: NRSTP, 1970

a/ Principal specialty of employment for each respondent.

Table 2.52. Subfield of Non-Academically Employed Linguists: Comparison With all NRSTP Linguists, 1970.

Subfield[a]	Non-acad. Emp'd Linguists		Total Emp'd Linguists		Non-acad. as % of Total
	No.	%	No.	%	
Appl's to lang tchg	62	22.3%	417	24.5%	14.9%
Descrip ling	61	21.9	337	19.8	18.1
General ling	15	5.4	112	6.6	13.4
Hist & comp ling	3	1.1	225	13.2	1.3
Lang in rel to other fields	18	6.5	167	9.8	10.8
Language policies	4	1.4	13	0.8	30.8
Literacy & writing systems	2	0.7	6	0.4	33.3
Mechanized appl's	18	6.5	38	2.2	47.4
Phonetics	4	1.4	36	2.1	11.1
Other ling spec's	91	32.7	351	20.6	25.9
TOTAL	278	99.9	1702	100.0	16.3

Source: NRSTP, 1970.

a/ Principal specialty of employment for each respondent.

Table 2.53. Linguists Employed by Non-Academic Institutions: Professional Identification by Type of Employer, 1973.

Identification	Type of Employer					Tot Non-acad Emp'd		Acad. Emp'd	
	Fed govt	Ele/sec sch	Non prof	Bus	Other	No.	%		
Linguist	9	1	5	4	8	27	52.0	154	53.9%
Linguist & lang	1	–	–	–	1	2	3.8	16	5.6
For. lang spec	–	6	–	1	–	7	13.5	45	15.7
English	–	1	–	–	–	1	1.9	19	6.6
ESOL spec	–	4	–	1	2	7	13.5	12	4.2
Anthropologist	–	–	–	–	–	–	-	13	4.6
Psychologist	–	–	–	1	–	1	1.9	6	2.1
Combination	–	–	–	–	1	1	1.9	6	2.1
Other	1	1	1	2	1	6	11.5	15	5.2
TOTAL	11	13	6	9	13	52	100.0	286	100.0

Source: LSA Membership Survey, 1973.

The choices available in the parallel question on the NRSTP form, listed in Table 2.54, speak to areas of specialization within linguistics more than to the choice of disciplines listed on the LSA form. The 1970 Register tabulations showed that 57% of the non-academically employed linguists identified themselves as linguists (including psycholinguists, sociolinguists, phoneticians, computational linguists, anthropological linguists, and applied linguists) and 11.1% as language teachers. Another 17% checked the category Bible translator. Comparatively, more academically employed respondents regarded themselves as linguists (73% as opposed to 57%) or language and area specialists (13% as opposed to 4%), while more of the non-academically employed regarded themselves as computational linguists (8% as opposed to 2%) and Bible translators (17% as opposed to less than 1%).

2.4.5 Primary Work Activity

Work activities of linguists employed in the non-academic sector varied widely, as would be expected given the diversity of jobs and employer types. As Table 2.55 indicates, over 40% of the non-academically employed LSA members surveyed in 1973 listed teaching as their primary work (slightly more than half of these were employed by elementary or secondary schools). About 65% of those holding the master's listed teaching as their most time-consuming activity, compared with only 22% of those with PhD's. (Contrast the figure of over 75% of the academically employed linguists listing teaching as a primary work activity.) About 18% of the non-academically employed LSA members listed administration as their primary work, and only about 10% listed research.

Comparable data from the 1970 NRSTP (Tables 2.56 and 2.57) indicate that a greater percentage of non-academic Register respondents performed research as their primary work activity--26% as opposed to 10% of LSA Survey respondents, while a smaller percentage were teaching--about 20% as opposed to 45%. The difference undoubtedly stems from the differences in employer type which, as noted in Section 2.4.1, may be accidental or may result from a change in the job market in the three years between the two studies. Most of those doing research or exploring, reporting and forecasting as their primary work activity in the 1970 study were at non-profit organizations or private industry, while most of those teaching were at elementary and secondary schools, although a few also worked for the federal government. Many more PhD'S are in research and administration than teaching, while MA's are spread more evenly among the three activities.

2.4.6 Salary

Salary data indicate that, overall, salaries for academically and non-academically employed linguists are roughly comparable, but that there may be wide differences among employer types. (see Tables 2.58 and 2.59). Those without PhD's make better salaries in non-academic jobs, but this is likely a function of age, experience and the fact that the high-paying research and managements activities in the academic world are largely reserved for PhD's, as they are not outside it.

The 1970 NRSTP salary figures are outdated, but comparison among categories is of interest. The median salary in 1970 for non-academically employed linguists reporting to the NRSTP was $13,000. The most highly paid linguists in this group (with the exception of the self-employed) were employed by private industry,

Table 2.54. Linguists Employed by Non-Academic Institutions: Professional Identification by Type of Employer, 1970.

Identification	Type of Employer											Total		Academically employed	
	Ele or sec sch	Non prof org	Res ctr	Fed govt	Mil	State govt	Oth govt agen	Priv ind/bus	Other	Self-emp'd	No rept	No.	%	No.	%
Linguist	5	24	3	9	7	-	1	13	10	3	7	82	25.2	647	47.3
PhD	-	9	1	2	1	-	1	3	4	3	5	29			
Master's	4	12	1	5	3	-	-	9	4	-	2	40			
Bach	1	3	1	2	3	-	-	1	2	-	-	13			
Psycholinguist	2	3	1	1	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	10	3.1	42	3.1
PhD	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3			
Master's	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	5			
Bach	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2			
Sociolinguist	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.3	-	
PhD	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1			
Phonetician	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	3	0.9	35	2.6
PhD	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2			
Bach	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1			
Computational ling	-	2	3	4	-	-	-	15	-	1	-	25	7.7	24	1.8
PhD	-	2	1	3	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	13			
Master's	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	7			
Bach	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	3	-	1	-	5			
Anthropological linguist	-	5	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	2.2	52	3.8
PhD	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3			
Master's	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1			
Bach	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3			
Applied linguist	8	13	3	16	1	-	2	6	2	4	1	56	17.2	193	14.1
PhD	4	3	2	5	-	-	1	1	-	2	-	18			
Master's	4	9	1	8	-	-	1	4	2	2	1	32			
Bach	-	1	-	3	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	6			
Linguists(sub-tot)	15	49	10	33	9	-	3	35	13	9	8	184	56.6	993	72.5
PhD	5	20	4	12	1	-	2	11	4	5	5	69			
Master's	8	22	4	16	3	-	1	19	6	3	3	85			
Bach	2	7	2	5	5	-	-	5	3	1	-	30			

Table 2.54. (Continued)

Identification	Type of Employer											Total		Academically Employed	
	Ele or Sec Sch	Non Prof Org	Res Ctr	Fed Govt	Mil	State Govt	Oth Govt Agen	Priv Ind/ Bus	Other	Self-Emp'd	No Rept	No.	%	No.	%
Linguists (sub-total) brt f'wd	15	49	10	33	9	-	3	35	13	9	8	184	56.6	182	13.3
Lang/area spec	1	2	1	5	2	-	-	2	-	-	1	14	4.3		
PhD	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	3			
Master's	1	1	-	3	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	6			
Bach	-	-	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	5			
Lang Tchr	15	3	-	6	-	1	2	2	6	-	1	36	11.1	128	9.4
PhD	2	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	3	-	-	7			
Master's	13	2	-	4	-	1	1	2	3	-	1	27			
Bach	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2			
Bible Transl.	-	51	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	54	16.6	3	0.2
PhD	-	18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18			
Master's	-	22	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	24			
Bach	-	11	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12			
Other	2	8	-	4	-	-	-	13	3	1	-	31	9.5	57	4.2
PhD	1	2	-	2	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	10			
Master's	1	6	-	1	-	-	-	4	3	1	-	16			
Bach	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	5			
No report	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	2	-	-	2	6	1.9	6	0.4
PhD	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1			
Master's	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	2	5			
Bach	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
Total	33	113	11	50	11	1	6	54	24	10	12	325	100		
PhD	8	41	4	16	1	-	3	18	7	6	5	109	33.5		
Master's	23	53	4	25	3	1	3	27	14	3	6	162	49.9		
Bach	2	19	3	9	7	-	-	9	3	1	1	54	16.6		

Source: NRSTP, 1970, Special committee tabulations.

Table 2.55. Linguists Employed by Non-Academic Institutions: Primary Work Activity by Type of Employer, 1973.

Employer/Highest Degree	Primary Work Activity									Total
	Tchg.	Res.	Adm.	Tch/Res.	Tch/Adm.	Res/Adm.	Tch/Res/ Adm.	Other Comb.	Other or NR	
Ele/sec school	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12
PhD	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
PhD Cand.	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Master's	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Bach.	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Fed. Gov	1	-	5	-	1	-	-	-	4	11
PhD	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	1	5
PhD Cand.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Master's	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	4
Bach.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Private Bus.	2	2	-	1	-	1	-	-	3	9
PhD	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	4
PhD Cand.	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	3
Master's	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Bach.	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Other	6	2	3	1	-	-	-	1	6	19
PhD	3	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	6	12
PhD Cand.	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Master's	2	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	5
Bach.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	21	4	8	2	1	1	-	1	13	51
PhD	5	2	6	1	-	1	-	-	8	23
PhD Cand.	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	7
Master's	10	1	2	1	1	-	-	1	1	17
Bach.	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	4

Source: LSA Membership Survey, 1973.

Table 2.56. Linguists Employed by Non-Academic Institutions: Primary Work Activity, 1970.

	Highest Degree								
	BA/BS		MA/MS		PhD		Other	Total	
Primary Work Activity	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		No.	%
Basic research	6	11.8	16	9.4	23	20.0	2	46	13.5
Applied research	9	17.7	22	12.9	12	10.4	-	43	12.6
Management, R&D	2	3.9	14	8.2	18	15.7	1	35	10.2
Management, Other	8	15.7	22	12.9	23	20.0	-	54	15.8
Teaching	2	3.9	49	28.7	16	13.9	1	67	19.6
Consulting	3	5.9	7	4.1	9	7.8	-	20	5.9
Reporting, exploring, forecasting	9	17.7	22	12.9	9	7.8	1	41	12.0
Other	12	23.5	19	11.1	5	4.4	-	36	10.5
TOTAL	51	100.1	171	100.2	115	100.0	5	342	100.1

Source: NRSTP, 1970, Special committee tabulations.

NOTE: Includes linguists employed by elementary and secondary schools.

Table 2.57. Linguists Employed by Non-Academic Institutions: Primary Work Activity by Type of Employer, 1970.

Type of Employer	Research		Mgmt., Oth.	Mgmt. of R&D	Tchg.	Consulting	Reporting Exploring Forecast	No Rep. Other	Total
	Basic	Applied							
Fed. Gov.	4	4	16	7	4	3	9	6	53
PhD	2	2	6	3	-	1	-	2	16
Master's	2	2	5	4	4	1	5	2	25
Bach	-	-	4	-	-	1	3	1	9
Other Gov.	-	-	2	1	1	-	-	3	7
PhD	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	3
Master's	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	1	4
Bach	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Non-profit	31	26	12	16	3	9	15	15	127
PhD	13	7	6	8	1	5	4	1	45
Master's	12	14	4	6	2	3	8	8	57
Bach	5	5	2	1	-	-	3	6	22
Ind. & Bus.	8	9	9	9	-	3	10	6	54
PhD	5	2	1	6	-	-	3	1	18
Master's	2	5	7	2	-	2	5	4	27
Bach	1	2	1	1	-	1	2	1	9
Self-Emp.	1	2	-	-	-	4	2	1	10
PhD	1	1	-	-	-	1	2	1	4
Master's	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Bach	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Military	-	1	2	-	-	-	1	7	11
PhD	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Master's	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3
Bach	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	4	7
Other	1	1	6	1	9	1	3	4	24
PhD	1	1	-	3	-	2	-	1	7
Master's	-	-	3	-	7	-	2	2	14
Bach	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	3
TOTAL	45 (15.7%)	43 (15.0%)	47 (16.4%)	33 (11.5%)	17 (5.9%)	19 (6.6%)	40 (14.0%)	42 (14.7%)	286 (99.8%)
PhD	22 (23.2)	12 (12.6)	18 (19.0)	17 (17.9)	3 (3.2)	8 (8.4)	8 (8.4)	7 (7.4)	95
Master's	16 (11.9)	22 (16.4)	20 (14.9)	13 (9.7)	14 (10.5)	7 (5.2)	22 (16.4)	20 (14.9)	134
Bach	6	9	8	2	-	3	9	14	51

Source: NRSTP, 1970.

Table 2.58. Linguists Employed by Non-Academic Institutions: Annual Salary by Type of Employer, 1970.

Annual Salary	Ele/sec schools	Non-prof org.	Res. Ctr.	Fed. Gov.	State Gov.	Other Gov. Agency	Mil. Serv.	Prv. Ind., Bus.	Self. Empl.	Other	Total No.	Total %
$1,000-6,000	1	17	-	1	-	-	4	-	-	2	25	10.6
6,000-9,000	5	18	1	2	-	-	1	4	-	6	37	15.6
9,000-12,000	8	15	2	5	-	-	1	7	-	4	42	17.7
12,000-15,000	5	9	4	9	1	-	-	3	1	6	38	16.0
15,000-18,000	5	4	1	12	-	1	-	7	-	-	30	12.7
18,000-21,000	1	6	-	8	-	1	1	10	1	3	31	13.1
21,000-24,000	-	2	-	5	-	-	-	4	2	-	13	5.5
24,000-27,000	1	-	3	3	-	-	-	4	-	-	11	4.6
27,000-30,000	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	0.8
30,000-33,000	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	3	1.3
33,000-36,000	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.4
36,000-40,000	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	0.8
40,000 and over	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	0.8
Median Salary	$11,000	$10,000	$14,000	$15,000	$13,000	$18,000	$5,000	$18,000	$20,000	$10,000	$13,000	

Source: NRSTP, 1970, Special committee tabulations.

Table 2.59. Academic vs. Non-Academic Employment: Comparison of Median Annual Salaries, 1970 and 1973.

	1970	
Highest Degree	Academically Employed	Non-academically Employed
PhD	$13,000	$16,000
MA/MS	$10,000	$11,000
BA/BS	$10,000	$10,000
TOTAL	$12,000	$13,000

Source: NRSTP, 1970, Special committee tabulations.

	1973	
PhD	$14,200	$14,200
Less than PhD	$10,500	$12,700
TOTAL	$13,700	$13,000

Source: LSA Membership Survey, 1973.

with a median annual salary of $18,000. The median annual salary of linguists employed by the federal government was $15,000, and by resource centers, $14,000. Linguists employed by elementary or secondary schools earned a median annual salary of $11,000.

The median annual salary reported by non-academically employed LSA members in 1973 was $13,000. Median salary for those with PhD's was $14,200, and for those with less than the PhD $12,700.

The LSA Survey data for individual employer types was too sparse to permit generalizations, but in 1973, one of the major federal agencies employing linguists reported a median salary of $22,000 for linguists on its Washington staff.

2.5 Linguistics Graduate Students

Material in this section is based primarily on the LSA's 1973 survey of graduate students in linguistics. We estimate that our 744 respondents represent roughly one-third of graduate students currently enrolled. As noted in greater detail in the sections below, our sample was slightly imbalanced in that PhD students were over-represented, that almost all students were enrolled in linguistics, and that some institutions were not represented. The survey nonetheless included a broad cross-section of students, a substantial number of them from smaller, and less well-known institutions, not as visible in professional gatherings as those from large prominent departments.

Overall, we estimate that there are about 2400 linguistics graduate students now, roughly 60% enrolled for a PhD and 40% for a master's degree, and that about 70% of the PhD students--perhaps more among the younger ones--are in departments of linguistics. Most enter graduate school without an undergraduate degree in linguistics. Almost half the doctoral students and two-thirds of the master's students are women.

Students expressed even greater interest than working linguists in theoretical linguistics, particularly syntax, and less interest in applied linguistics--though the percentage of linguists at any level in that area is not large. Given the fact that almost all respondents came from linguistics departments, the level of language involvement was impressive. In addition to their areas of study and specialization, more linguistics students are teaching foreign languages, English and ESOL than are teaching linguistics, and many of those seeking employment were looking in these fields as well as in linguistics. As among working linguists, there was little overlap with anthropology and psychology (in spite of expressed interest in psycholinguistics--which is apparently pursued by linguists and psychologists going their separate ways). Very few students were teaching either subject and few were seeking jobs in anthropology, psychology or education. More younger students expressed an interest in psycholinguistics and planned to seek employment in psychology or education, however.

2.5.1 Degree Sought

Of the 744 surveyed by the LSA, almost two-thirds (61% were enrolled in doctoral programs, seven percent were in master's programs but working toward a doctorate, and 28% were in master's programs. The remaining two percent were working for their bachelor's degree, master's or doctorate in education, or not seeking a degree.

The percentage of doctoral students was higher in the Graduate Student Survey than in our other two data sources. Linguistics department and program heads indicated that 61% of their graduate students were seeking a PhD and 39% an MA. Office of Education statistics (Enrollment for Advanced Degrees) are based not on the degree sought but whether students are in their first year (full-time equivalent) of graduate study or beyond. According to this source, in 1971 41% of linguistics graduate students were in the first year and 59% were beyond. The latter figure has been rising steadily since 1964, (when it was 52%). Based on these two sources, we estimate that 60% of linguistics graduate students are seeking a doctorate, 40% a master's degree.

2.5.2 Department of Enrollment

Almost all the graduate students of linguistics surveyed by the LSA were in linguistics departments. Table 2.60 shows the limitations of the survey in this regard: slightly under two-thirds of recent PhD's now working in linguistics hold degrees from departments of linguistics. Although that percentage will probably increase, a substantial number of linguistics students are still enrolled in English and foreign language departments, and these are unrepresented in our sample of graduate student respondents.

Another area in which the response was imbalanced was in university of enrollment. Table 2.61 gives the latest complete statistics available, Office of Education figures for fall, 1971, as compared with the number of responses to our survey in March of 1973. Comparisons are difficult, since our survey of linguistics department and program heads indicates that enrollment has increased or decreased substantially at several institutions. It is safe to say, however, that although several important institutions are totally or almost completely unrepresented in our sample, among PhD students the 14 most prestigious institutions are represented proportionately as against others (about 45%), and that though the percentages within the top 14 vary greatly, most other schools are represented by a respectable percentage of students.

2.5.3 Personal Characteristics

2.5.3.1 Sex and Marital Status

Men earned three-quarters of the PhD's in linguistics conferred between 1963 and 1971 (with no difference in this regard between American citizens and non-citizens). Women will soon be better represented among PhD's: they were 30% of the PhD's in 1972 (up from 25% in the years immediately preceeding[1]), and currently they comprise 46-47% of the doctoral students and 62-66% of the master's students in linguistics.[2] The percentage has increased steadily in recent years. (See Section 7.1 for details).

About three quarters of the men earning linguistics PhD's during the years 1963-1971 were married, at the time they received their degrees, while only 55% of the women were. A slightly lower proportion of the non-citizens, both male and female, were single.

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[1] NAS-NRC, Doctorate Record File.

[2] LSA Graduate Student Survey and Survey of Linguistics Department and Program heads.

Table 2.60. Linguistics Graduate Students: Department of Enrollment by Degree Sought

Department	Graduate Student Survey, 1973						PhD's 1970-1972[a]		PhD's 1969-1970[b]	
	PhD		Master's		Total					
Linguistics	424	89.5%	204	76.7%	628	84.9%	41	61.2%	165	65.5%
Foreign language	8	1.7	5	1.9	13	1.8	8	11.9	25	9.9
English	1	0.2	11	4.1	12	1.6	8	11.9	22	8.7
ESOL	1	0.2	8	3.0	9	1.2	-	-	-	-
Anthropology	2	0.4	1	0.4	3	0.4	2	3.0	1	0.4
Psychology	1	0.2	-	-	1	0.1	1	1.5	-	-
Joint	4	0.8	4	1.5	8	1.1	3	4.5	15	6.0
Other	4	0.8	-	-	4	0.5	4	6.0	13	5.2
No report	29	6.1	33	12.4	62	8.4	-	-	11	4.4
TOTAL	474	99.9	266	100.0	740	100.0	67	100.0	252	100.1

Source: Survey of Linguistics Graduate Students, 1973.

a/ LSA Membership Survey.
b/ NAS-NRC, Doctorate Records File, special tabulation made only in 1969 and 1970.

Table 2.61. Linguistics Graduate Students: Institution of Enrollment.

Institution	OE, 1971[a]			Graduate Student Survey, 1973		
	Beyond 1st Year	1st Year	Total	PhD	MA	Total
Texas	74	17	91	22	3	25
UCLA	51	28	79	1	1	2
Michigan	68	50	118	47	12	59
Cornell	52	17	69	*	*	*
Indiana	47	21	68	*	*	*
Berkeley	39	27	66	51	8	59
Pennsylvania	47	19	66	11	5	16
Illinois	36	18	54	24	7	31
MIT	28	12	40	*	*	*
Ohio State	20	11	31	12	3	15
Harvard	24	9	33	8	–	8
Chicago	29	6	35	13	3	16
Columbia	22	1	23	7	1	8
Yale	15	6	21	11	–	11
Subtotal	552	242	794	207	43	250
Vert. %	46.0	28.7	38.9	43.7	16.2	33.8
Georgetown	93	84	177	32	15	47
Hawaii	74	11	85	29	8	37
Northeastern Illinois[b]	–	60	60	–	26	26
Univ. of Cal--San Diego	24	13	37	9	–	9
Stanford	34	3	37	21	1	22
New York University	17	20	37	*	*	*
SUNY--Buffalo	28	32	60	10	7	17
Brown	24	8	32	14	6	20
Colorado	10	17	27	10	6	16
Washington	10	29	39	5	6	11
Univ of Pittsburgh	69	8	77	3	7	10
North Carolina	19	15	34	15	2	17
Michigan State	4	22	26	1	–	1
University of Southern Cal.	28	6	34	1	2	3
Rochester	16	8	24	6	4	10
San Francisco State[b]	–	27	27	*	*	*
Minnesota	13	12	25	9	3	12
Wisconsin	20	5	25	7	2	9
American Univ	–	28	28	*	*	*
Kansas	5	24	29	9	10	19
Utah	–	8	8	–	8	8
Subtotal	488	440	928	181	113	294
Vert. %	40.7	52.2	45.4	38.2	42.5	39.7
Other	160	161	321	86	110	196
Vert. %	13.3	19.1	15.7	18.1	41.4	26.5
TOTAL	1200 100.0	843 100.0	2043 100.0	474 100.0	266 100.1	740 100.0

Source: Survey of Linguistics Graduate Students, 1973.

a/Enrollment for Advanced Degrees, 1971.
b/Enrollment for Advanced Degrees, 1970 (not included in 1971 survey).
*No response

Among students currently enrolled for doctorates, about 40% of the women and 50% of the men are married. Among those seeking an MA, on the other hand, 47% of the women are married, but only 40% of the men.

2.5.3.2 Citizenship

The NAS-NRC Doctorate Records File indicates that American citizens received three-quarters of the doctorates in linguistics conferred in this country between 1963 and 1971, with no marked changes within that time (Table 2.62). However, only eighteen percent of the doctoral students and 20% of the master's students surveyed by the LSA in 1973 were not U. S. citizens. Whether this indicates a drop in the percentage of foreign graduate students or a failure on their part to complete questionnaires is unknown. Only 8% of the LSA members surveyed were not U. S. citizens; apparently many return to their own countries (See Section 3.2 for further discussion).

2.5.3.3 Age

The median age of doctoral students surveyed by the LSA was 29 years; that of master's students was 27 years and in master's leading to doctoral programs, 25 years. Among doctoral students 10% were over 40, and 25% were 32 or older. Percentages were almost identical for students seeking a master's degree.

The median age of PhD's on receiving their doctorates was 32.5 years. Americans were about a year and a half younger on the average than foreign citizens, single people were younger than married, and single men were younger by almost four years than single women, but married men and women were about the same age. (Table 2.63).

2.5.4 Academic Background

Of the doctoral students surveyed by the LSA 34% held a master's degree, 59% held only the bachelor's degree, and five percent held a foreign (non-doctoral) degree.

Of those holding the master's, 65% had majored in linguistics, 10% in a commonly taught foreign language, 1% in an uncommonly taught language, 9% in English, 6.5% in English as a second language, and 2% in anthropology or psychology. Of those who did not do their master's in linguistics, 15% had minored in linguistics. See Table 2.64

More students today have an undergraduate linguistics degree than used to - see Section 2.2.6-but their number remains small. Only fourteen percent of the doctoral students surveyed held a bachelor's degree in linguistics. Most held a baccalaureate in a foreign language (40%) or English (21%). Only 5.5% had done their undergraduate work in anthropology or psychology, while 19% held BA's in some other subject. Only eleven percent of the students in master's programs in linguistics had done their undergraduate work in linguistics while 38% had earned their bachelors degree in a foreign language and 26% in English.

Table 2.62. Citizenship of Linguistics PhD. Recipients, 1963-1971

	1963		1964		1965		1966		1967		1968		1969		1970		1971		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
U.S. Citizens	33	73.3	44	71.0	51	71.9	74	77.1	68	75.6	90	81.1	85	75.9	102	75.0	129	75.5	676	75.6
Non-citizens	12	26.7	18	29.0	20	28.1	22	22.9	22	24.4	21	18.9	27	24.1	34	25.0	42	24.5	218	24.4
TOTAL	45		62		71		96		90		111		112		136		171		894	

Source: NAS-NRC Doctorate Records File.

Table 2.63. Linguistics PhD's: Median Age at Time of Doctorate, 1963-71 by Sex, Marital Status and Citizenship

	Male			Female			
Citizenship	Married	Single	Total	Married	Single	Total	Total
U. S.	32.4	29.6	31.7	32.9	34.3	33.4	32.0
Non-U. S.	34.5	32.3	33.8	33.5	--	31.5	33.7
TOTAL	33.0	30.1	32.3	33.1	33.7	33.3	32.5

Source: NAS-NRC Doctorate Records File.

Table 2.64. Linguistics Graduate Students: Major Subject of Master's and Bachelor's Degrees, by Degree Sought.

	Major Subject of Master's (PhD Students)		Major Subject of Baccalaureate by Degree Sought						
			PhD		MA/PhD	Master's		Total	
Major Subject	No.	%	No.	%	No.	No.	%	No.	%
Linguistics	180	65.0	72	13.8	12	24	11.4	108	13.8
For lang-commonly taught	28	10.1	195	37.7	8	76	36.2	279	35.7
For lang-uncommonly taught	3	1.1	10	1.9	1	3	1.4	14	1.8
English	25	9.0	110	21.1	15	55	26.2	180	23.1
ESOL	18	6.5	1	0.2	-	3	1.4	4	0.5
Anthropology	4	1.4	19	3.6	1	10	4.8	30	3.8
Psychology	2	0.7	10	3.6	2	6	2.9	18	2.3
Combination	3	1.1	6	1.9	2	3	1.4	11	1.4
Other	14	5.1	99	19.0	8	30	14.3	137	17.5
TOTAL	277	100.0	522	100.4	49	210	100.0	781	99.9

Source: Survey of Linguistics Graduate Students, 1973.

2.5.5 Field and Area of Specialization

2.5.5.1 Professional Identification

Most of the doctoral students surveyed by the LSA - 87% - identified themselves as linguists. Four percent considered themselves foreign language specialists; two percent a combination of linguist and foreign language specialist; and five percent some other combination. Only a few identified themselves as English language or ESOL specialists.

Only seventy-three percent of the students enrolled in masters programs considered themselves linguists. Eight percent identified themselves as foreign language specialists, eight percent ESOL specialists, and four percent a combination of linguist and foreign language specialist. The marked differences between graduate student respondents and linguists in the work force (See Section 2.2.7) is due partly at least to the enrollment of 95% of the graduate students surveyed in departments of linguistics, although with the growth of such departments identification with linguistics is probably on the increase.

2.5.5.2 Special Interests

The subject area interests of graduate students surveyed by the LSA are detailed in Table 2.65. Among doctoral students over half listed at least one foreign language. The next largest categories were syntax (21.0%) sociolinguistics or dialectology (20.5%) and phonology (19.5%). In the third rank were psycholinguistics (13.5%), historical and comparative linguistics and semantics (both 11.6%), and English linguistics (9.4%). As compared with PhD's in the work force, (see Section 2.2.8), doctoral students show greater interest in syntax, semantics and sociolinguistics and less in applied linguistics and English linguistics (future linguists from foreign language and English departments were not surveyed however).

Master's students, as compared with doctoral students, reported considerably less interest in historical and comparative linguistics, theoretical linguistics, and foreign languages and linguistics, and considerably more in applied linguistics, especially TESOL, listed by proportionately about four times as many respondents.

2.5.5.3 Subject Area of Original Research

Over half (53.2%) of the doctoral students reporting on the subject of their original research were doing work on foreign languages. One fifth were doing research on syntax, 14% on phonology, and another 10% other areas of theoretical linguistics (semantics, morphology, etc.). Fifteen percent were working in psycholinguistics (over half of these in first language acquisition), 12% in sociolinguistics or dialectology, and 11% in English linguistics. (See Table 2.66). Only 73 out of 202 masters students reported original research. Over half were working on a foreign language, one quarter in some area of theoretical linguistics and one-sixth in applied linguistics.

Comparison between students and linguists in the work force (see Section 2.2.8) reveals a proportionately larger number of students - perhaps half again as many--doing theoretical research, particularly in syntax and phonology. The percentage doing research in applied areas is a little smaller, but fewer in either group are involved in such research. Research in sociolinguistics and

Table 2.65. Linguistics Graduate Students: Special Interests by Degree Sought, 1973

Special Interests	PhD		Masters	
	No.	%	No.	%
General linguistics	6	1.5	1	0.5
Hist. & comp. ling.	48	11.6	12	5.5
Socioling/dialectology	85	20.5	41	18.8
Mis. topics in gen. ling.	8	1.9	4	1.8
Theory of language	28	6.8	16	7.3
Syntax	87	21.0	22	10.1
Phonology	81	19.5	24	11.0
Semantics	48	11.6	16	7.3
Other theoretical	6	1.5	2	0.9
Applied ling., gen.	7	1.7	9	4.1
Ling. and edu.	8	1.9	7	3.2
TESOL	29	7.0	59	27.1
Other applied	12	2.9	10	4.6
English linguistics	39	9.4	22	10.1
Foreign lang/ling.	217	52.3	86	39.5
Phonetics	13	3.1	8	3.7
Communication science	--	--	5	2.3
Psycho/linguistics	56	13.5	32	14.7
Anthropological ling.	18	4.3	9	4.1
Computational ling.	10	2.4	4	1.8
Math. ling.	5	1.2	2	0.9
Philosophy of lang.	3	0.7	2	0.9
Ling. and Literature	4	1.0	6	2.8
Neurolinguistics	6	1.5	4	1.8
Other fields	5	1.2	4	1.8
TOTAL Reporting	415		218	

Source: Survey of Linguistics Graduate Students, 1973.

NOTE: Up to three areas were tabulated per respondent.

Table 2.66. Linguistics Graduate Students: Subject of Original Research by Degree Sought

Subject	PhD		Master's	
	No.	%	No.	%
Historical/comparative linguistics	14	4.8	2	
Sociolinguistics/dialectology	34	11.6	5	
Mis topics in general linguistics	5	1.7	4	
Theory of language	5	1.7	-	
Syntax	56	19.1	5	
Phonology	41	14.0	8	11.0
Semantics	18	6.1	2	
Other theoretical	6	2.1	-	
Second language teaching	3	1.0	-	
Linguistics and education	2	0.7	1	
Contrastive analysis	1	0.3	-	
TESOL	-		5	
Other applied	-		4	
Structure of English	24	8.5	5	
Other English linguistics	6	2.1	-	
Linguistics/language--foreign	156	53.2	33	45.2
Phonetics	11	3.8	3	
First language acquisition	25	8.5	8	
Other psycholinguistics	20	6.8	4	
Anthropological linguistics	3	1.0	-	
Computational linguistics	6	2.1	1	
Philosophy of language	2	0.7	-	
Linguistics and literature	3	1.0	2	
Neurolinguistics	1	0.3	2	
Other fields	-		3	
TOTAL reporting original research	293	61.8	73	27.4
None listed	181	38.2	193	72.6
TOTAL	474	100.0	266	100.0

Source: Survey of Linguistics Graduate Students, 1973.

NOTE: Up to two subjects per respondent. Some single topics, especially those involving languages, were coded twice, e.g., French phonology under French and phonology. Most respondents listed only one subject.

psycholinguistics is about the same for both groups, as is that in most other areas.

2.5.5.4 Society Membership

Society membership of graduate students surveyed appears in Table 2.67. Most belonged to no professional organizations at all--two-thirds of the doctoral students and 90% of the master's students. Most of the rest belonged to the Linguistic Society of America: 25% of those seeking a PhD, 7% of those seeking a master's, 18% overall. Membership in other societies, mostly language groups, was infrequent.

2.5.6 Financial Aid

Linguistics department and program heads reported that about 35% of their graduate students were receiveng financial assistance. Most of the students with support were at institutions granting a linguistics PhD, where nearly half of all graduate students had financial aid; percentages at other institutions were much lower. Of those receiving aid, 43% had fellowships, 39% teaching assistantships, 13% research assistantships, and 5% other kinds of support, such as readerships and miscellaneous scholarships (not including employment). Fellowships and research assistantships were more frequent at the 14 most prestigious departments, but few research assistantships were available anywhere. (See Table 2.68).

Graduate students themselves reported a higher rate of financial assistance: 58% of the doctoral students and 49% of the master's students surveyed received support. Of these, about 38% had fellowships, 36% teaching assistantships, 11% research assistantships, and 12% other. (See Table 2.69).

2.5.7 Teaching Responsibilities

Twenty-eight percent of the doctoral students and 22% of the master's students surveyed were teaching. As Table 2.70 indicates, many were not teaching assistants: one-third of the doctoral students and one-fourth of all students teaching. Opportunities were apparently more frequent outside than inside linguistics departments. The same department and program heads who reported 297 of their students as holding teaching assistantships reported only 132 students, or 44%, teaching linguistics in their own departments or programs. According to the Graduate Student survey, 41% of the doctoral students teaching taught courses in linguistics and 48% in languages--especially the uncommonly taught foreign languages and English as a second language. Only 21% of the master's students with teaching responsibilities taught linguistics, while 74% taught language courses.

If our respondents are typical, they represent a projected total of 168 doctoral students and 88 master's students teaching linguistics, a total of 256 and the equivalent of 8.5% of the current work force.[1] Teaching assistantships are usually associated with large undergraduate classes, recent and relatively infrequent in linguistics, but apparently on the increase. Student teaching provides financial assistance and practical experience for students. It is a

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1/ Assuming 2400 graduate students, 1440 doctoral and 960 master's.

Table 2.67. Linguistics Graduate Students: Society Membership by Degree Sought, 1973.

Society	Degree Sought						Total	
	PhD		MA/MS leading to PhD		Master's			
LSA	117	24.7%	8	16.0%	9	4.2%	134	18.1%
Other linguistics	30	6.3	1	2.0	4	1.9	35	4.7
MLA	15	3.2	-		5	2.3	20	2.7
ACTFL, AATF, AATG, AATI, AATSP or AATSEEL	11	2.3	-		-		11	1.5
Other language/area studies	12	2.5	1	2.0	3	1.4	16	2.2
TESOL	10	2.1	-		2	0.9	12	1.6
NCTE	3	0.6	-		1	0.5	4	0.5
AAA	1	0.2	-		-		1	0.1
Other	7	1.5	-		-		7	1.0
None, or no response	300	63.3%	40	80.0%	197	91.2%	537	72.6%
TOTAL respondents	474		50		216		740	

Source: Survey of Linguistics Graduate Students, 1973.

Table 2.68. Linguistics Graduate Students: Financial Assistance by Type of Support and Type of Academic Institution Attended, 1973.

Type of acad inst: highest linguistics degree offered	Type of Support								Total Receiving Aid		Total Grad Studs Enrolled
	Teaching Asst		Res Asst		Fellowships		Other				
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
PhD in linguistics: 14 most pres. depts	129	36.2	58	16.3	166	46.6	3	0.8	356	47.2	754
Other depts & progs	100	40.7	24	9.8	92	37.4	30	12.2	246	47.2	521
Master's in linguistics	12	100.0	--	--	--	--	--		12	7.1	169
Linguistics majors and minors[a]	23	23.5	10	10.2	63	64.3	2	2.0	98	19.1	513
Ling. minors	33	71.7	3	6.5	5	10.9	5	10.9	46	26.7	172
TOTAL	297	39.2	95	12.5	326	43.0	40	5.3	758	35.6	2129
Percent of total students		14.0		4.5		15.3		1.9			

Source: Survey of Linguistics, Dept and Prog Heads, 1973.

a/ Institutions which combined graduate majors and minors in their response.

Table 2.69. Linguistics Graduate Students: Financial Assistance by Type of Support and Degree Sought, 1973.

Type of Support	PhD		Master's		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Teaching asst-ship	77	28.2	50	38.5	127	31.5
Teaching asst & other	13	4.8	3	2.3	16	4.0
Res. asst-ship	28	10.3	15	11.5	43	10.7
Univ fellowship	47	17.2	12	9.2	59	14.6
Gov. fellowship	56	20.5	11	8.5	67	16.6
Other fellowships	22	8.1	6	4.6	28	7.0
Tuition	3	1.1	--	--	3	0.7
Other comb	8	2.9	4	3.1	12	3.0
Other	19	7.0	29	22.3	48	11.9
		100.1		100.0		100.0
Total receiving aid	273	57.8	130	49.4	403	54.8
Total # of students surveyed	472		263		735	

Source: Survey of Linguistics Graduate Students, 1973.

Table 2.70. Linguistics Graduate Students: Teaching Responsibilities, 1973.

Subject Taught	Degree Sought					
	PhD		Master's		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Linguistics	55	41.4	12	20.7	67	35.1
Foreign language--commonly taught	12	9.0	16	27.6	28	14.7
Foreign language--uncommonly taught	22	16.5	10	17.2	32	16.8
English	7	5.3	3	5.2	10	5.2
ESOL	23	17.3	14	24.1	37	19.4
Anthropology	-	-	1	1.7	1	0.5
Psychology	-	-	-	-	-	-
Combination	6	4.5	1	1.7	7	3.7
Other	8	6.0	1	1.9	9	4.7
	-	100.0	-	99.0	-	100.1
Total	133	28.2	58	22.1	191	26.0
Not teaching (or no response)	339	72.8	205	78.0	544	74.0
Total	472	-	263	-	735	-
Reported as teaching assistants	90	-	53	-	143	-
Teaching assistants as % of all students teaching	67.7	-	91.4	-	74.9	-

Source: Survey of Linguistics Graduate Students, 1973.

Note: This table includes all respondents who reported having current teaching assistantships. Thus 133 (or 28.2%) of all PhD students responding said they were teaching at the institution at which they were enrolled, but only 90 held teaching assistantships.

relatively inexpensive source of labor for departments, but it is hard to say what its effect is and will be on the demand for linguists. Departments could respond to tight budgets by using fewer student teachers and increasing faculty workloads or by hiring fewer faculty and more students, both paid and unpaid.

2.5.8 Characteristics of Graduate Students by Expected Date of Job Market Entry

Thirty-five percent of the graduate students surveyed by the LSA are already (as of December 1973) in the job market, slightly over one-fourth of the doctoral students, half of the master's students. Of the rest, 31% planned to seek employment in 1974, and 34% in 1975 or later. Fifty-six percent of those entering the job market in 1973 expected to have PhD's (percentages for later years are not meaningful because many who will get master's degrees are not yet enrolled). (See Table 2.71).

When asked in which field(s) they would seek employment, most listed one or two and a few listed three fields (Table 2.72). Almost all doctoral students planned to seek employment in linguistics. Of those now on the market 25% were also seeking employment in the commonly taught foreign languages, 20% in TESOL, and 17% in the uncommonly taught foreign languages. Thus a number were looking in the language fields, but few in anthropology or psychology. Among master's students, about 70% altogether said they would seek employment in linguistics, but of those looking in 1973 only 61% were looking in linguistics. A full 45% were seeking jobs in TESOL, 30% in education, 27% in the commonly taught languages, and 12% in the uncommonly taught languages. Among those not anticipating job-hunting for two years or more, fewer expected to seek employment in fields outside linguistics except for psychology and education.

Students about to enter the job market expressed more interest in certain subject areas than did their younger collegues: applied linguistics, especially TESOL, and English linguistics. Slightly more also expressed interest in sociolinguistics, theory of language, semantics, foreign languages and anthropological linguistics, while slightly fewer listed psycholinguistics. In general, as might be expected, more experienced students listed more areas of interest, and the differences just cited may reflect nothing more than the stage of progress in graduate studies.

The majority of the PhD students entering the job market in 1973--70%--had not published. Of the 32 who had, most had published only one or two pieces. Thirteen had done book reviews (three had done more than one or two); 27 had published journal articles (15 had published one or two and nine had done from three to five articles); and ten had written books (only three had done more than one). Only one masters degree student reported publishing (nine books).

Two-thirds, or 93 of the 136 PhD's entering the job market in 1973 reported work experience. Sixty-six had experience in linguistics, most of them three years or less. Sixty-five had worked in foreign languages; 37 had fewer than four years experience, 17 had four to six years experience, and 13 had over six years experience. Only eleven had worked in other fields such as anthropology and psychology.

Table 2.71. Linguistics Graduate Students: Expected Date of Job Market Entry by Degree Sought.

Expected Date of Job Market Entry	Degree Sought				Total	
	PhD		Master's			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1973	136	27.9	109	52.4	245	35.2
1974	141	28.9	73	35.1	214	30.8
1975	211	43.2	26	12.5	237	34.1
TOTAL	488	100.0	208	100.0	696	100.1

Source: Survey of Linguistics Graduate Students, 1973.

Table 2.72. Linguistics Graduate Students: Fields in Which Employment Will be Sought, in Percentages by Year of Job Market Entry.

Field	1973			1974			1975 & later[a] PhD	All Years		
	PhD	Master's	Total	PhD	Master's	Total		PhD	Master's	Total
Linguistics	94.3	60.5	80.1	97.7	84.3	92.5	93.3	94.8	71.9	88.1
Commonly taught foreign lang	24.8	26.3	25.4	18.3	25.3	21.0	12.5	17.1	23.2	18.9
Uncommonly taught for lang	17.1	11.8	14.9	25.2	8.4	18.7	19.7	20.7	9.2	17.3
English	8.6	1.3	5.5	5.3	2.4	4.2	2.9	5.0	2.2	4.1
TESOL	20.0	44.7	30.4	16.8	34.9	23.8	11.5	15.1	36.2	21.3
Anthropology	7.6	2.6	5.5	8.4	4.8	7.0	5.8	7.0	3.2	5.9
Psychology	6.7	2.6	5.0	6.1	4.8	5.6	9.6	7.9	3.8	6.7
Education	11.4	30.3	19.3	10.7	30.1	18.2	13.9	12.4	29.2	17.3
Other	5.7	2.6	4.4	9.2	8.4	8.9	5.8	6.8	8.1	7.2
TOTAL number responding	105	80	181	131	83	214	208	444	185	629

Source: Survey of Linguistics Graduate Students, 1973.

NOTE: Up to three fields per student were tabulated. Most reported one or two.

a/ Master's students omitted from this group only because there were only 26.

We have no data on the relationship between publication record and success in getting a job, but given the values of the academic world and the relatively low rate of publication among students, those who have published probably have a better chance of success. The Doctorate Records File of the NAS-NRC indicates that experience per se (without regard to the specific type) makes little difference: graduating PhD's with and without firm job prospects did not differ in this regard.

Half of the 109 masters degree students entering the job market in 1973 had experience, most in foreign languages and only twelve in linguistics.

Chapter III

The Job Market: Supply and Demand

3.1 Enrollment and Degrees in Linguistics: Growth, Trends and Projections

The sixties was a time of remarkable growth for linguistics as an academic discipline: formal departments and programs, graduate enrollment, and graduate degrees conferred, all quadrupled in ten years. There is every indication that expansion will continue, though not as rapidly, in the seventies: graduate enrollment has increased and new programs have opened. The momentum of the immediate past will probably generate increases in doctorates past 1980--we have projected that 250-300 PhDs in linguistics will be awarded in 1982-83.

Expansion is significant both in estimating how many new linguists will seek employment, and in providing additional teaching positions. At the graduate level, it is likely to create many more linguists than teaching jobs. Growth at the undergraduate level, however, may provide additional opportunities for new PhDs. Until recently linguistics was almost exclusively a graduate discipline. Although recent growth at the undergraduate level has been even more dramatic than at the graduate level, linguistics BA's were fewer than .03 of one percent of all baccalaureates in 1970, and undergraduate programs were still relatively infrequent. Apart from formal bachelor's programs and degrees conferred, it is difficult to document or predict growth at this level because it is unrecorded. We do not know, for example, how many non-majors take undergraduate linguistics courses. We do know, however, that the number of institutions offering linguistics courses, especially those with no linguistics degree program, is still increasing (see section 3.1.1) and that institutions without degree programs have been one of the better sources of jobs for linguists recently (see Table 3.13).

3.1.1 Institutional Setting

The growth of linguistics as a discipline has been reflected in formal academic offerings. In ten years (1963-1972) the number of departments of linguistics (or linguistics and languages) in the United States and Canada tripled, from 17 to 52, and the number of interdepartmental programs or committees of linguistics increased from 14 to 78. Linguistics programs customarily start with course offerings in language or anthropology departments. As Table 3.1 shows, there were 46 institutions with such an arrangement in 1963, 41 in 1972. The number fell in the mid and late sixties, but then rose again, apparently as course offerings grew into independent departments and programs in many of the original 46, and other institutions offered linguistics for the first time in the early 70's. English departments were especially prominent in this process.

The number of institutions offering linguistics degrees has grown correspondingly. Forty-five institutions now offer a PhD in linguistics, as opposed to 25 in 1963. Thirteen offer a PhD in a related field with a linguistics concentration. The number of institutions offering a master's degree in linguistics increased by 250%, from 26 to 66, and the number offering a master's in a related field with a concentration in linguistics more than quadrupled, from 9 to 37. The number of institutions offering a bachelor's degree in linguistics tripled (from 16 to 49),

Table 3.1. Organization of Linguistics Departments and Programs, 1963-1972.

Organizational arrangements	1963	1966	1969-70	1971-72
Department of linguistics	13	23	31	42
Department of linguistics and languages (or other subject)	4	8	10	12
Interdepartmental program or committee	14	25	52	78
Linguistics courses offered in other departments	43	29	30	39
Languages	7	4	4	2
English	14	14	17	24
Anthropology	4	7	5	4
Other	18	4	4	9
Interdepartmental courses only	3	1	11	2
TOTAL	77	86	134	173

Source: University Resources, 1963, 1966, 1969-70, 1971-72.

and the number offering the bachelor's in a related field with a linguistics concentration increased almost ninefold (from 4 to 35) (Table 3.2).

Even more impressive was the increase in the number of institutions actually conferring various linguistics degrees (Table 3.3). From 1963 to 1971, according to Office of Education statistics, the number of universities conferring linguistics PhD's increased 150%, from 12 to 29, as did the number conferring linguistics MA's, from 19 to 51. Institutional growth in linguistics bachelor's degrees awarded was even greater--250%, from 15 in 1963 to 54 in 1971. The last statistic underscores the recent growth of linguistics as an undergraduate subject. Increases in all categories were particularly great in the late sixties and early seventies.

The growth in institutional offerings in linguistics has been accompanied by some geographic dispersion. In 1963 almost three-quarters of U. S. institutions offering graduate degrees in linguistics were located in the northeastern quadrant of the country (New England, Middle Atlantic and East North Central--see Table 3.4). Another sixth were on the west coast. In the rest of the United States only three institutions granted a linguistics PhD and four a linguistics master's degree.

In 1972 the northeastern quadrant was still dominant, but less so, with half the master's programs and two-thirds of the doctoral programs, but all other geographic sections of the continental United States had at least two PhD and four master's degree programs. The West Coast continued to have about one-sixth of the graduate degree programs, but New England's share had diminished from one-fifth to one-tenth.

Forms for the 1974 edition of University Resources were arriving as this report was written. On the basis of the initial returns, there is no evidence of contraction--institutions are offering at least the degrees they did in 1971-72. There is some evidence of expansion: institutions not previously listed in University Courses which now offer at least three basic linguistics courses and several offering a new linguistics BA. Whether there has been some contraction in staff is another question, however, as is whether expansion is being accomplished by spreading the present staff thinner.

3.1.2 Graduate Enrollment in Linguistics

Growth in graduate enrollment in linguistics was enormous during the sixties: Office of Education statistics--see Table 3.5--show that it more than quadrupled--from 407 in 1960 to 1884 in 1970. (The 1970 figure is 4.6 times the 1960 figure; comparable figures for overall graduate enrollment are 2.7 (356,000 to 946,000) and for foreign languages 3.2 (6,310 to 20,451)). Increases were greatest early in the decade, averaging 180 students per year until 1966. Thereafter they slowed. Between 1969 and 1970 enrollment grew by only 38 students, or 2%, but in the following year there was an increase of 159 students, or 8%. Department and program heads reported an overall increase of 15% between 1970 and 1972 (see Table 3.6).

Because of the nature of our sources, we can estimate only roughly the current graduate enrollment in linguistics. Coverage of the 1972-73 Survey of Linguistics

Table 3.2. Number of Institutions Offering Each Linguistics Degree, 1963-1972.

Degree Offered	1963	1966	1969-70	1971-72
PhD in linguistics	25	29	39	45
PhD - linguistics concentration	9	16	17	13
Master's in linguistics	26	38	49	66
Master's - linguistics concentration	9	27	34	37
Bachelors in linguistics	16	22	40	49
Bachelors - linguistics concentration	4	16	27	35

Source: University Resources, 1963, 1966, 1969-70, 1971-72.

Table 3.3. Number of Institutions Conferring Linguistics Degrees, 1956-1971.

Year (fiscal)	No. of institutions		
	Bach.	Master's	PhD
1956	12	11	9
1957	11	11	8
1958	10	13	11
1959	16	12	9
1960	16	19	12
1961	18	17	12
1962	16	20	11
1963	15	19	12
1964	15	20	13
1965	15	24	18
1966	25	33	26
1967	25	38	22
1968	30	41	27
1969	36	46	22
1970	49	47	24
1971	54	51	29

Source: U. S. Office of Education, Earned Degrees Conferred.

Table 3.4. Location of Institutions Offering PhD and Master's Degree in Linguistics, 1963-1972.

	1963		1966		1969-70		1971-72	
	Master's	PhD	Master's	PhD	Master's	PhD	Master's	PhD
NEW ENGLAND (Conn, Maine, Mass, N.H., R.I., Vermont)	5	5	4	5	4	6	5	6
MIDDLE ATLANTIC NORTH (N.J., N.Y., Penn)	4	6	7	6	8	7	12	10
EAST NORTH CENTRAL (Ill, Ind, Mich, Ohio, Wisconsin)	6	5	8	6	10	10	13	10
MIDDLE ATLANTIC SOUTH (Del, D.C., Md, W.Va)	3	2	3	1	3	1	3	1
SOUTHEAST (Ala, Fla, Ga, Ky, Miss, NC, SC, Va, Tenn)	1	1	1	1	3	3	6	3
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL (Ark, La, Okla, Tex)	2	2	2	2	3	2	4	2
WEST NORTH CENTRAL (Iowa, Kan, Minn, Mo, Neb, ND, SD)	1	-	2	1	4	2	6	4
MOUNTAIN (Ariz, Colo, Idaho, Mont, Nev, NM, Utah, Wyo)	-	-	2	-	3	1	4	3
PACIFIC (Calif, Ore, Wash)	4	4	8	6	10	6	12	6
NON-CONTIGUOUS (Alas, Canal Zone, Guam, Haw, Puerto Rico, Virgin Islands)	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	1
TOTAL	26	25	38	29	49	39	66	46

Source: University Resources, 1963, 1966, 1969-70, 1971-72.

Table 3.5. Enrollment for Advanced Degrees in Linguistics, 1960-1971.

	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971
Enrollment	407	558	739	882	1083	1298	1482	1567	1740	1846	1884	2043
Increase		151	181	143	201	215	184	85	173	106	38	159
Percent of increase		37.1	32.4	19.4	22.8	19.9	14.2	5.7	11.0	6.1	2.1	8.4

Source: U.S. Office of Education, Enrollment for Advanced Degrees

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Table 3.6. Graduate Enrollment in Responding Linguistics Departments and Programs, 1967-1972.

	1967	1970	1972
Total	1318	1588	1823
Percent of increase		20.5	14.8

Source: Survey of Linguistics Dept. and Prog. Heads, 1973.

Note: Includes programs which reported no students in 1967 and/or 1970 but only those programs which responded for all three years.

Department and Program Heads was incomplete both as to institutions and departments within them. Office of Education enrollment statistics end in 1971: although they are complete as far as they go, they record as linguistics students only those so considered by their registrars. Even though the percentage may be diminishing with the growth of linguistics departments, some linguists in training still remain in other departments and are recorded as students of English, foreign languages, etc. The situation is further complicated in that linguistics minors in these departments may or may not pursue it--depending on circumstances and the positions available when they seek employment. Thus, the most we could know is the number of potential linguists. Moreover, different universities use different systems of classification.

Nonetheless, by combining OE statistics with data on percentage increases in enrollment from the survey of department and program heads, we can project a minimum of 2167 linguistics students in 1972,[1] and by considering the percentage of recent graduates in the 1970 NRSTP who majored in linguistics, we can further project a maximum of 2968.[2] It is impossible to know where in between the actual figure lies, but, given current patterns of linguistics training, there must be at least 2400 students. What is striking about this conservative estimate is that--allowing for overlap--there are two-thirds as many linguists now in training as are already working.[3]

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[1] Both our departmental respondents and the Office of Education reported a 20% increase in graduate enrollment between 1967 and 1970. If the 15% increase between 1970 and 1972 reported by our respondents is projected onto the 1970 OE figure (the most recent available) of 1884 students, then the 1972 OE figure would be 2167 students. At the percentages given in Section 2.5.1 (40% MA students and 60% PhD students) 867 would be seeking a master's and 1300 a doctorate. This figure is a minimum because of the reporting system described above.

[2] Of those linguists in the 1970 NRSTP who received their degrees between 1967 and 1970, 78% of the MA's majored in linguistics and 70% of the PhD's with no upward trend during the four years. The percentage may have risen since then with the increased number of linguistics departments (32% between 1969 and 1971, for example). However, students whose interest in linguistics is focussed on a single language may have remained in language departments, retaining a language major. If we assume that those majoring in linguistics still represent 78% of the MA students and 70% of the doctoral students, we get what is likely a maximum of 1111 students seeking an MA and 1857 seeking a PhD, or a total of 2968.

[3] The overlap between work force and graduate students is about 11% according to the LSA membership Survey (41 of 364 respondents in the work force were students). Thus 339 of our estimated 3000 in the work force would be students, leaving 2061 students not in the work force.

Given the recent and rather sudden changes in the job market for linguists and the availability of university funding, past increases in enrollment are useful principally for estimating the current number of graduate students but not for projecting future changes. The only data available on this subject are from department and program heads responding to our survey. They indicated no plans to cut back graduate enrollment in 1973-74; instead they planned small increases--1-2% for doctoral students and 8% for master's students, 5% overall.[1]

3.1.3 Graduate Degrees in Linguistics

The number of linguistics degrees conferred has also increased greatly since 1960, as Table 3.7 shows. Between 1960 and 1970 alone the number of graduate degrees grew three-or four-fold. Growth is illustrated even more dramatically in Table 3.8, which shows that the number of linguistics PhDs conferred in three years after 1970 was half as many again as were awarded from 1936 to 1969. Continuing at the 1972 rate, there would be 316 more as of June 1974 bringing the total in the last five years to 779, or 80% of the number conferred in all the thirty-three years preceding.

On the basis of the Office of Education's Projections of Educational Statictics to 1982-83 we have projected the number of linguistics PhDs to that date in the left-hand column below.[3] Estimates by department heads of the number of PhDs they

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[1] There was no discernible differences as to the type of institution (PhD-granting vs. MA-granting, fourteen most prestigious vs. others,etc.) In the late sixties increases in enrollment were most marked at PhD-granting institutions other than the fourteen most prestigious, but this was probably a function of the increased number of new PhD programs, since their increases were only average between 1970 and 1972.

[2] Years reported in the Doctorate Records File are fiscal years, ending in June.

[3] Linguistics doctorates have been a relatively stable percentage of doctorates in the categories of social sciences, humanities, and letters for the last seven years (linguistics is a subcategory of the latter two). It has varied year by year since linguistics doctorates have gone in spurts (see Table 3.7) but there has been no trend either up or down during this period. The statistics above were obtained by applying these percentages to Office of Education projections for the larger categories.

These projections differ from those published in earlier, interim reports of the Manpower Survey because earlier figures were based on projections made in 1970. In the 1973 edition projections have been cut back to account for changing trends in graduate enrollment, which is increasing but not as much as formerly anticipated. Whatever the reasons--a poor job market for PhDs, a decrease in available financial aid perhaps--our estimates assume a similar response on the part of potential students of linguistics.

Table 3.7. Degrees Conferred in Linguistics, 1955-1971, by Level.

Year	Bachelor's[1]	Master's[1]	PhD[1]	PhD[2]
1955-56	38	41	18	*
1956-57	25	31	16	*
1957-58	20	73	30	42
1958-59	31	72	21	28
1959-60	57	70	26	46
1960-61	41	90	31	46
1961-62	64	105	33	46
1962-63	54	103	38	45
1963-64	57	114	48	64
1964-65	67	173	6[illegible]	72
1965-66	113	229	84	99
1966-67	132	232	70	92
1967-68	126	340	97	114
1968-69	192	343	90	114
1969-70	220	338	109	137
1970-71	254	352	150	176
1971-72	**	**	**	158

Sources: 1/U.S. Office of Education, Earned Degrees Conferred
2/NAS-NRC, Doctorate Records File

* Not comparable
**Not available

Note: Office of Education statistics are reported by university registrars, while the Doctorate Records File respondents are graduating PhD's, who classify themselves, hence the larger numbers in the last column.

Table 3.8. Number of Linguistics PhDs, 1936-1974.

Years[a]	No. of PhD's	
1936-1939	8	
1940-1949	14	
1950-1959	177	
1960-1969	738	
Subtotal		937
1970-1972	463	
1973-1974[b]	(316)	
Subtotal		779
TOTAL		1716

Source: NAS-NRC, Doctorate Records File

a/Years by fiscal year, ending in June.

b/Estimated at 1972 level of 158.

expect to award, extrapolated to cover non-respondents,[1] appear in the right hand column.

Year	Projections	Dept. Head Estimates
1972-73	163-195	202
1973-74	194-220	243
1974-75	198-248	254
1975-76	226-260	
1976-77	244-276	
1977-78	222-271	
1978-79	226-273	
1979-80	231-278	
1980-81	235-284	
1981-82	242-290	
1982-83	246-296	

Where within these ranges the number is likely to fall depends on whether linguistics PhDs follow the pattern of the social sciences (low figures) or the humanities (high figures). Projections based on letters, the subcategory of humanities which includes linguistics, are slightly under the high figures until 1978-79, then are the high figures.

Projections are essentially extensions of lines on a graph: they assume that the future will be like the past. We made no projections on graduate enrollment for this reason: too many new factors have recently entered the picture. With doctorates, however, we can be more comfortable with projections. The median time lapse between receipt of a BA and the PhD in linguistics is nine years. All of the students who will receive linguistics doctorates up to 1976, most who will get them by 1980, and a good half of those who will get them between 1980 and 1983 are already enrolled. Graduate enrollment increased steadily through 1972-73, and our departmental respondents indicated plans for slight increases for 1973-74. Thus there is every reason to expect that the number of PhDs will rise in accordance with the minimum numbers of the projections at least.

Linguistics PhDs have always been concentrated at a small number of universities. As Table 3.9 shows, fifty percent of the linguistics PhDs graduated between 1967 and 1971 came from eight universities and 67% from thirteen institutions. Their enrollment levels are thus of particular interest. As of 1966 these institutions accounted for almost the same percentage of graduate enrollment as of PhDs granted, according to Office of Education statistics.

1/ The actual numbers anticipated by our respondents were 116, 140 and 146 for the three years respectively. From 1967 to 1971 these departments accounted for 57.5% of all linguistics PhDs awarded. The figures above assume they will continue to produce that percentage of all PhDs. With the growth of new departments this seems a conservative estimate.

Table 3.9. Major Producers of Ph.D.'s in Linguistics: 1967-1971.

Institution		Total Awards	Cumulative Totals	
			Number	Percentage
1.	University of Michigan	63	63	10.0
2.	University of Texas	53	116	18.3
3.	Georgetown University	39	155	24.5
4.	Indiana University	39	194	30.7
5.	Univ. of California, Los Angeles	32	226	35.7
6.	University of Pennsylvania	30	256	40.4
7.	Cornell University	29	285	45.0
8.	Harvard University	29	314	49.6
9.	Univ. of California, Berkeley	26	340	53.7
10.	Stanford University	23	363	57.4
11.	Massachusetts Inst. of Technology	21	384	60.7
12.	Columbia University	20	404	63.8
13.	University of Rochester	20	424	67.0

Source: NAS-NRC, Doctorate Records File.

As of 1970 the first eight accounted for a little over a third of graduate enrollment and the first thirteen for about half: their enrollment had fallen off by about 75 students, while enrollment overall had risen by over 25% (400 students). This falling off trend appears to have reversed since 1970, however: statistics collected by the Linguistics Society of America and the Center for Applied Linguistics for 1972 and 1973 indicate that enrollment at these schools--in absolute numbers--is up over its 1970 level, although not quite back to the 1966 level. Meanwhile other institutions, e.g., Illinois, Hawaii, San Diego, have enrolled large numbers of doctoral students. Almost all planned to maintain their doctoral enrollment at present levels or increase it slightly in 1973-74.

Master's degrees awarded in the past also appear in Table 3.7. The number increased greatly in the mid-sixties--trebling between 1964 and 1968--then seemed to stabilize at about 350 degrees per year. We have not attempted to project future master's degrees, in part because of this unstable past pattern and in part because that information would not be particularly useful. The linguistics MA is not the highly specialized degree that the PhD is, and master's graduates can more readily shift into other areas. The degree usually requires one year full-time equivalent work, so shifts may occur quickly. Moreover, one possible response to a poor market for master's recipients may be to remain in graduate school. At this juncture it is impossible to say more than that present enrollment appears to be undiminished, that our departmental respondents planned a modest increase in their 1973-74 master's level enrollment, and that therefore we can expect at least 350 new MA's a year for the next few years.

3.1.4 Linguistics at the Undergraduate Level

Linguistics was almost exclusively a graduate discipline in the past, and is only now taking root on the undergraduate level. The number of linguistics BA's per year has always been fewer than the number of MA's, occasionally even fewer than the number of PhD's. The percentage of linguistics degrees among all baccalaureates has always been minute--less than .03 of one percent, but their number increased six times (from 41 to 254) in the last ten years recorded by the Office of Education. Growth was slow until 1966--fewer than 70 degrees per year; but in the next five years it was extremely rapid. Statistics on undergraduate programs indicate that such expansion may continue. In 1963 University Resources listed 16 institutions offering a BA in linguistics; in 1971-72 the number was 49; and most of the changes in the forthcoming edition involve new BA programs and non degree offering programs. (See Tables 3.2 and 3.7)

Until recently almost all BA programs were associated with graduate departments of linguistics (14 of the 16 in the 1963 University Resources); even now most are (34 of the 49 in the current edition), but the number of exclusively undergraduate linguistics programs will increase considerably in the forthcoming edition. Interestingly, a number of the institutions listed in Earned Degrees Conferred as having conferred linguistics BA's during the late fifties and early sixties are not known by the compilers of University Resources to have had any regular linguistics program: either the degrees were in some distinct subject, such as philology or resulted from special arrangements for individual students.[1] By the late sixties linguistics BA's were almost exclusively from institutions listed in University Resources. Most were from schools with graduate programs.

Linguistics department and programs heads reported enrollment in their introductory courses as summarized in Table 3.10. The increase was rapid between 1967 and 1970--13% per year, even more so between 1970 and 1972--17.5% per year, but that expected for 1973 was only a little over 4%. It is impossible to say whether this is a temporary slowdown or stabilization after a period of exceptional growth but growth does continue.

The infrequency of linguistics on the undergraduate level coupled with its recent growth is significant for two reasons. First, if undergraduate expansion continues, it may provide a source of employment for linguists even in the face of declining college enrollments; there is obviously room for such expansion since even now relatively few institutions offer linguistics. Second, the vast majority of graduate linguistics students today hold baccalaureates in subjects other than linguistics. No large influx of linguistics BA's into graduate programs will occur in the near future, but increasing numbers could eventually require the re-organization of graduate programs to a more advanced level. Students with undergraduate linguistics degrees could also afford to take more courses in other departments, thus preparing themselves for inter-disciplinary work.

3.2 The Supply of Linguists

As of early 1973 there were approximately 3000 working linguists, 1800 of them PhDs, according to our estimates. In the next ten years the number of PhDs alone may double. Table 3.11 shows the net increase projected per year based on high and low projections of doctorates, with adjustments for death, retirement and the return of non-citizens to their own countries.

The projections of doctorates are discussed in Section 3.1.3, and the estimate of the number of linguists in the work force in Section 2.2. Death and retirement were calculated as 1.5% of the work force per year, based on estimates for the national population of college teachers and our own calculations based on the age distribution of PhD linguists in the 1970 NRSTP.[2] This may be an even less likely source of vacancies than Table 3.11 indicates. Although age distribution

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1/ Thus there may have been even fewer linguistics BA's than recorded in Table 3.7 for these years.

2/ We calculated that 1.6% would die or retire, but that estimate is probably high for the reasons given in the text below, so we adopted the figure of Bolt, Kolton and Levine, "Doctoral Feed-Back into Higher Education," Science, Vol. 148, (May 14, 1965), pp. 918-28. Cartter, "Faculty Needs and Resources in American Higher Education," in Bressler, ed., American Higher Education: Prospects and Choices, The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 404(November, 1972), p. 81, uses 1.4%.

Table 3.10. Enrollment in Introductory Course in Linguistics in Responding Institutions, 1967, 1970, 1972, estimated 1973.

Year	1967	1970	1972	est. 1973
Enrollment	4932	7217	9960	10,400
No. increase		2285	2743	440
% increase per year		13.0	17.5	4.4

Source: Survey of Linguistics Dept and Prog Heads, 1973.
(89 institutions responding)

Table 3.11 Net Increases in Doctoral Work Force, 1973-1983

(a) Based on Minimum Projections of Doctorates

Year	Base	Losses by Death/Retirement[a]	Net PhDs[b]	Net Increase
1972-73	1800	27	139	112
1973-74	1912	29	165	136
1974-75	2048	31	169	138
1975-76	2186	33	193	160
1976-77	2346	35	208	173
1977-78	2519	38	189	151
1978-79	2670	40	193	153
1979-80	2823	42	197	155
1980-81	2978	45	200	155
1981-82	3133	47	206	159
1982-83	3292	49	210	161

Average net increase: 150 per year

(b) Based on Maximum Projections of Doctorates

1972-73	1800	27	166	139
1973-74	1939	29	187	158
1974-75	2097	31	211	180
1975-76	2277	34	222	188
1976-77	2465	37	235	198
1977-78	2663	40	231	191
1978-79	2854	43	233	190
1979-80	3044	46	237	191
1980-81	3235	49	242	193
1981-82	3428	51	247	196
1982-83	3624	54	252	198

Average net increase: 184 per year

a/At rate of 1.5% per year

b/Projected number of linguistics doctorates less non-citizens leaving this country, estimated at 14.8% of the total PhDs graduating.

did not change significantly in the National Register between 1964 and 1970, LSA members surveyed in 1973 who held the PhD were younger than those surveyed by the National Register in 1970, and the addition of large numbers of new PhDs to the work force is likely to weight it toward younger linguists. Furthermore, we assumed that all linguists would retire upon reaching 70, and half on reaching 66, but in the 1970 National Register, of nine PhDs over 70, seven were still working (six full-time), and of 23 between the ages of 66 and 69, all were working.

The effects of immigration and emigration are almost impossible to calculate, because of factors such as government policy and the job market both here and abroad. It was necessary, however, to make some allowance for non-citizen PhDs returning to their own countries; using some arbitrary assumptions, we chose the figure 14.8%.[1] Other factors not included in Table 3.11 are immigration of linguists already holding doctorates,[2] emigration of American PhDs,[3] and transfers in and out of the field, none of which are predictable. The last-mentioned in particular is likely to fluctuate with the availability of jobs.

One further source of information is our graduate student survey, which asked respondents when they expected to seek permanent employment. The results, both

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1/ Statistics from the Doctorate Records File show that of PhDs in linguistics conferred from 1967 to 1971, 23.1% went to non-citizens with no trend up or down during this period. They also show that the postdoctoral plans of these non-citizens were as follows:

Job commitment in U.S.	56	38.4%
Job commitment abroad	44	30.1%
Uncertain	31	38.4%
Further training	9	6.2%
Unknown	6	4.1%

The current work force (at all degree levels) consists of 8% non-citizens, according to the LSA Membership Survey, and 9.1% non-citizens according to the 1970 NRSTP. (These statistics were used only as general reference points.) In estimating how many non-citizens leave this country, we assumed arbitrarily that 10% of those remaining would be non-citizens (some will presumably become naturalized). To maintain this ratio, 14.8% of the total--about two-thirds of the non-citizens—would have to leave.

2/ Ten of 283 PhDs in the LSA Membership Survey, or 3.5% held doctorates from foreign universities. Six were citizens, four not.

3/ According to the Doctorate Records File, postdoctoral plans of American citizens graduating with linguistics PhDs (1967-1971) were as follows:

Job commitment in U. S.	328	69.2%
Job commitment abroad	37	7.8%
Uncertain	70	14.8%
Further training	30	6.3%
Unknown	9	1.9%

Jobs abroad may be temporary, of course.

from the survey itself and as extrapolated to cover non-respondents, appear in Table 3.12.[1] The time periods are not comparable with those of our other estimates, but the extrapolated figures are obviously larger than our projections. Some students may drop out without getting degrees, others will take longer than they had planned, and still others will seek employment before receiving their degrees. Still, the figures indicate that our estimates for the near future are conservative, given the number of respondents known to be on the market.

It is impossible to estimate future increases in the linguistics work force at the master's level because of factors already mentioned: the greater likelihood of transfers out of the field, the possibility of remaining in graduate school, and the shortness of the time within which shifts can take place. The most that can be said is that there are an estimated 1200 linguists in the work force at the master's level or below, that few are anywhere near retirement age (see Table 2.3), and that we can expect about 350 MA graduates per year in the near future. Table 3.12 shows when respondents to our graduate student survey expect to seek permanent employment: about 350 per year (estimated) will be on the market in 1973 and 1974.

3.3.1 Demand as Reflected by the Current Employment of Linguists

The current employment of linguists is almost entirely academic. It is interdependent with employment in the language disciplines, and overlaps--but only slightly--a long list of other fields. This in a nutshell, is the present demand.

Chapter II describes the employment of linguists in detail. Here we need only summarize. Currently 80-85% of all employed linguists and 90% of those holding PhDs are at colleges and universities. Overwhelmingly their principal work activity is teaching. Half are at institutions offering a linguistics doctorate, another fourth at the other end of the scale, in institutions with the smallest programs--no major or graduate minor in linguistics. Linguistics has scarcely made an impact on two-year institution, however: they employ fewer than 1% of linguists with PhDs, fewer than 2% of all working linguists. Only a handful of linguists are post-doctoral fellows or research associates. About a quarter of our graduate students respondents were teaching, more in languages than linguistics; they were teaching linguistics in numbers equivalent to about 8% of the work force.

Only one-quarter of academically employed linguists are in departments of linguistics, while almost half are in language departments--principally English (22%) and commonly taught languages (19%). Over half teach at least one foreign language, ESOL, or English course. Those in miscellaneous other departments total eighteen percent, the only sizable number (8%) in anthropology, while 15 percent taught courses in these other fields. Many of our respondents in

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[1] Recall that these respondents may or may not be representative. Extrapolations are based on our estimate of 2400 graduate students, 60% seeking a PhD and 40% a master's, i.e., 1440 PhD students of whom our 448 respondents are 31.1% and 960 MA students, of whom our respondents are 23.3%.

Table 3.12. Linguistics Graduate Students: Expected Date of Labor Market Entry, as of March, 1973.

Expected date of labor market entry	Degree Sought			
	PhD		Master's	
	Survey	Projected[a]	Survey	Projected[a]
Feb. 1973-Jan. 1974	106	341	80	343
Feb. 1974-Dec. 1974	131	421	83	356
Jan. 1975 and after[b]	211	678	61	261
TOTAL	448	1440	224	960

Source: Linguistics Graduate Student Survey, 1973.

a/ Based on estimate of total 2400 graduate students, 60% seeking PhD, 40% a master's.
b/ Plus others not yet enrolled.

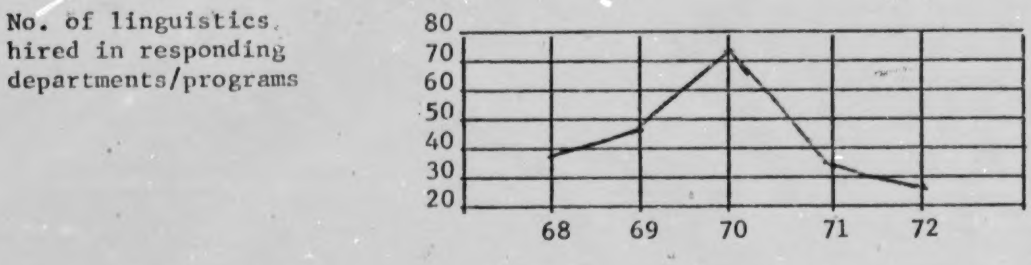
the latter category identified themselves with other disciplines. In contrast to the situation with languages, strong disciplinary boundaries seem to separate linguistics from the social sciences.

Linguists working at non-academic institutions are scattered through the federal government, elementary and secondary schools, private businesses, and various non-profit organizations. As compared with academically-employed linguists, more report specializing in TESOL and computational linguistics, fewer in historical and comparative linguistics (exclusively an academic area) and the theoretical specialties. The primary work activity of most is teaching or administration. Between 1964 and 1970, when employment at universities was readily available, the number of linguists employed outside remained stable, declining as a percentage of the work force from 23% to 17% (from 11% to 9% for PhDs). Although the academic boom has ended, non-academic employment has remained at its 1970 level. We have no evidence that positions are going empty in either sector.

3.3.2 Demand as Reflected by Recent Hiring

Recent hiring of linguistics PhDs has maintained the pattern described in the last section: heavily academic employment concentrated in institutions with the largest linguistics programs (PhD-granting) and the smallest (no major or graduate minor). See Table 3.13.

Academic hiring peaked in 1970, according to department and program heads responding to the CAL/LSA survey:



New positions played a crucial role: about one-fourth of the total faculty and 54% of those hired over the last five years hold positions newly created within that period. Our departmental respondents reported a total gain of 179 new positions, an average increase of 30% in total staff, between September 1967 and August 1972 (Table 3.14). Almost half of the new positions were in the PhD-granting institutions. Altogether, 53.9% of the positions filled were newly created, and 42.5% were being re-filled, with no differences among types of insitutions. (Table 3.15).

There is no indication that this situation will continue. A breakdown by years showed that the number of new positions gained each year correlated closely with hiring, peaking in 1970, and dropping off in 1972 to the 1967 level. Department and program heads reported that they have experienced virtually no difficulty in finding qualified faculty since 1970. Furthermore, as of winter 1973, only four of the 110 linguistics programs responding reported budgeted but unfilled positions. Three of these involved special circumstances.[1]

Most academic hiring reported was at the assistant professor level or below. The questionnaire did not elicit information on promotions, but the figures in Table 3.16 indicate that senior positions, especially at the level of full

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1/ One "was made available recently and there will be no problem filling it;" another required a last-minute replacement; and a third involved disagreement among the departments involved.

Table 3.13. Employer Type of Doctoral Linguists Hired, 1970-1973.

Type of Employer	PhD Linguists Hired		Percentage	
		Subtotals		Subtotals
Academic: (by highest linguistic degree offered)				
PhD: 14 most prestigious depts.	14		13%	
PhD: Other depts. and programs	29		26%	
PhD in linguistics: subtotal		43		39%
Master's in linguistics	10		9%	
Bach. in linguistics	4		4%	
PhD or Master's in another major with concentration in linguistics	4		4%	
Other four year institutions	39		35%	
Two-year institutions	-		-	
Academic subtotal		100		91%
Non-Academic				
Federal government	2		2%	
Elementary or secondary school	2		2%	
Private business	3		3%	
Other	3		3%	
Non-Academic subtotal		10		9%
TOTAL	110	110	101%	100%

Source: LSA Membership Survey, 1973.

Table 3.14. Positions Gained as Percentage of Total Staff in Linguistics Departments and Programs, 1967-1972.

Type of academic institution (by highest linguistics degree offered)	Staff Aug 1967	Net[a] Increase 1967-72	% Increase	Staff[b] Sep: 1972	Increase as % of Present Staff
PhD in linguistics					
14 most prestigious depts	112	32	28.6	144	22.2
Other	125	40	32.0	165	24.2
Master's in linguistics	69	15	21.7	84	17.9
Bachelor's in linguistics	34	16	47.1	50	32.0
PhD or Master's in another major with concentration in linguistics	93	32	34.4	125	25.6
Other four-year institutions	66	16	24.2	82	19.5
TOTAL	499	151	30.3	650	23.2

Source: Survey of Linguistics Dept and Prog Heads, 1973.

a/ Positions gained less positions lost.
b/ Total staff for 1972-73 minus positions for which the turnover vs. gain status is unknown (affects 12 positions). Staff members at non-responding institutions not included.

Table 3.15. Positions Gained vs. Turnover in Linguistics Departments and Programs, 1967-1972.

Type of academic institution (by highest linguistics degree offered)	Positions Gained	Turnover	No Report	Total
PhD in linguistics				
14 most prestigious depts	43	32	-	75
Other	41	41	-	82
Master's in linguistics	21	20	-	41
Bachelor's in linguistics	19	11	(4)	34
PhD or master's in another major with concentration in linguistics	35	22	-	57
Other four-year institutions	20	15	(8)	43
TOTAL	179 (53.9%)	141 (42.5%)	(12) (3.6%)	332 (100.0%)

Source: Survey of Linguistics Dept and Prog Heads, 1973.

Table 3.16. Rank of Linguists Hired by Linguistics Departments and Programs, 1967-1972.

	Linguists Hired		
Rank	No.	%	Over-all Composition
Instructor	44	13.3	{6.2%
Lecturer	9	2.7	
Assistant Professor	195	58.7	35.7%
Associate Professor	59	17.8	28.1%
Full Professor	25	7.5	30.1%
TOTAL	332	100.0	100.1

Source: Survey of Linguistics Department and Program Heads, 1973 professor, tend to be filled from within departments. The relatively high percentage of instructors and lecturers hired, as compared with their proportion to the staff as a whole, reflects the high level of turnover in these positions.

Table 3.17 shows the principal areas of specialization of the linguists hired by responding departments and programs (the total number reported is more than the number hired, because some had more than one). The only area of concentration is foreign languages, and the only areas represented by more than 10% of the linguists hired are general linguistics, syntax, and phonology. Comparison with the areas of specialization of individuals indicates a distribution[1] roughly similar except that psycholinguistics, although of high current interest to individuals, accounted for fewer than 4% of those hired, and applied linguistics accounted for very few of those hired.[2] The overall similarity of distribution may mean that supply and demand have been in the same proportions in most areas, or that departments and programs hire persons rather than specialties. Their comments point toward the latter.

Table 3.18 gives the breakdown by language of those hired by linguistics departments and programs as foreign language and linguistics specialists. About 40% (29 of 73) were in the commonly taught languages or language families, 8% in Indo-European. Chinese, Japanese, and African languages accounted for another 27% among them, while no other languages were represented by more than two people hired. This situation reflects the fact that uncommonly taught languages are more likely to be housed in linguistics departments than are commonly-taught languages, but the contrast between Far Eastern and African languages and others is noteworthy.

3.3.3 Funding

The funding of linguistics programs and salaries is far too complicated a subject for this study, but limited information is available.

First, respondents to the Survey of Linguistics Department and Program Heads indicated that their faculty salary money comes almost entirely from general university funds (91 of 105 responding to this question said 100%, another 6 said 95%). See Table 3.19 for a complete breakdown.

Second, twenty percent of the linguists included in the 1970 National Register reported receiving some federal support for their work. Half of these were funded by education programs, the rest by defense, health and international programs, in that order. See Table 3.20. Non-citizens were represented among those receiving support in the same proportions as they appeared in the Register itself.

1/See Table 2.15. Percentages are higher in all categories there because individual respondents listed two, three or occasionally four areas, while department and program heads listed only one, occasionally two.

2/ Setting TESOL aside. There was also a great discrepancy in the category of English linguistics but many specialists in this area are in departments of English, most of which were not covered by our survey.

Table 3.17. Areas of Specialization of Linguists Hired by Linguistics Departments and Programs, 1967-1972.

Area	No.	%
General linguistics	35	10.5
Historical and comparative linguistics	17	5.1
Sociolinguistics/dialectology	24	7.2
Mis. topics in general linguistics	3	0.9
Theory of language	26	7.8
Syntax	38	11.5
Phonology	36	10.8
Semantics	6	1.8
Other theoretical	3	0.9
Applied linguistics (general)	4	1.2
Linguistics and education	2	0.6
TESOL	22	6.6
Other applied linguistics	1	0.3
English linguistics	16	4.8
Foreign language/linguistics	81	24.4
Phonetics	12	3.6
Psycholinguistics	12	3.6
Anthropological linguistics	12	3.6
Computational linguistics	8	2.4
Mathematical linguistics	2	0.6
TOTAL number of linguists hired	332	

Source: Survey of Linguistics Departments and Program Heads, 1973.

Table 3.18. Foreign Language Specialists, Hired by Linguistics Departments and Programs 1967-1972.

Language Specialty	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	NR	Total
Indo European		1	1	3	1			6
Classics		1		1				2
French			1				2	3
Spanish			1				1	2
German			3					3
Russian				1			1	2
Romance		1	1	4	2		1	9
Germanic			1			1	2	4
Slavic		1			3			4
South Asian				1				1
Dravidian					1			1
Chinese		3		1	1		1	6
Japanese				2			2	4
Arabic			1					1
Hebrew		1						1
Far Eastern		1						1
Semitic	1	1						2
African	2	2		5		1		10
Southeast Asian				2				2
Vietnamese			1	1				2
Malayo-Polynesian				1		1		2
Indonesian							1	1
Philippine				1				1
Polynesian		1						1
Mayan			1					1
Creoles/Pidgins		1						1
TOTAL	3	14	10	24	8	3	11	73

Source: Survey of Linguistics Departments and Program Heads, 1973.

Table 3.19. Sources of Funds for Academic Linguistic Positions, 1973.

pe of Academic Institution highest linguistics gree offered)	Sources			
	Gen. Univ. Funds	Federal	Foundation	Other
D: in linguistics				
14 most prestg. depts				
9	100%			
2	95%	5%		
1	85%	10%		5%
1	70%	30%		
Other depts & progs.				
11	100%			
3	95%	5%		
1	87%	13%		
ster's: in linguistics				
11	100%			
1	95%		5%	
2	87-92%	8-12%		
chelor's: in linguistics				
16	100%			
aduate degree in another ubject with linguistics oncentration				
18	100%			
2	90%	10%		
1	50%	50%		
her: four year institutions				
26	100%			
TAL: 105				

urce: Survey of Linguistics Departments and Program Heads, 1973.

Table 3.20. Number of Linguists Receiving Federal Support by Source, 1970.

Source of support (program)		Source of support (program)	
Agriculture	2	Natural resources	3
Atomic energy	-	Public works	3
Defense	70	Rural	1
Education	192	Space	6
Health	46	Transportation	2
Housing	-	Urban	7
International	43	Other	82
Total with support	385		
No support	1136		
Don't know	102		
No report	279		
TOTAL	1902		

Source: NRSTP, 1970, Special committee tabulations.

Third, reports from the National Science Foundation show that, with the exception of 1970, when there was a drop of about $500,000, federal funding of linguistics research has increased every year since 1968 and was expected to rise through fiscal 1973 to over twice the amount of 1968. Table 3.21 does not tell the whole story: some federal support for linguists is not shown here, and not all of the money reported here goes to linguists. Nonetheless it indicates major sources of federal support and shows that both sources and emphasis have changed recently. For example, National Science Foundation support went from over $1 million in 1968 to almost nothing in 1972, while support from NIH/NIMH rose from $320,000 to almost $3 million estimated in fiscal 1973. Research labelled applied received less than $200,000 in fiscal 1969 and 1970, but over $1 million in 1971. Basic research still accounted for 63% of the 1973 funding however.

3.3.4 Demand as Estimated for the Near Future

3.3.4.1 Academic Demand

Academic demand is by far the most important element in the employment of linguists. The heads of linguistics departments and programs were asked to estimate expansion in their linguistics staff for 1973-74 and for the next five years overall. The results appear in Tables 3.22 and 3.23. Since our surveys were not all-inclusive the figures of most interest in these tables are the percentage increases in staff anticipated. Overall our respondents anticipate a 2.2% increase in staff from 1972-73 to 1973-74. Taking the number of linguists listed in University Resources for 1971-72 as a base (2228)[1] this increase would mean about 45 new positions in all the institutions listed there. Over the next five years the anticipated rate of growth is 13.8% or about 2.5% per year. (Contrast the figures for the last five years, also given in Table 3.23.) Application of this percentage to the University Resources base produces an estimate of 300 new positions in the next five years, an average of 60 positions per year. Some additional positions will become available at institutions which now offer fewer than three courses in general linguistics and are thus not listed in University Resources. However, such institutions are likely to employ only one or two linguists apiece, and plans for expansion will have to overcome the budget and enrollment problems now facing undergraduate institutions generally. Two year institutions, also not covered by this survey, are expanding rapidly but have so far shown so little interest in linguistics that it is unlikely that they will make more than a handful of linguistics positions available in the next five years.

In sum, taking 60 new positions each year which may become available at the institutions listed in University Resources and guessing that 10-20 will become available at other academic institutions, we may expect 70-80 new academic positions in each of the next five years.

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[1] This assumes that all departments and programs employing linguists will expand their linguistics staff at the same rate as responding linguistics departments and programs.

Table 3.21. Federal Funds for Linguistics Research, by Agency, 1968-1973
(Thousands of Dollars)

Agency	1968	1969	1970	1971	est. 1972	est. 1973
	Total Research					
Defense	50	494	111	366	305	200
NIH/NIMH	320	348	327	1871	2546	2957
OE	289	337	255	238	315	450
FAA	-	-	-	467	70	153
NSF	1333	1312	1296	137	7	260
Other	1	1	-	-	-	5
TOTAL	1793	2492	1989	3079	3243	4025
	Basic Research					
Defense	50	494	111	366	305	200
NIH/NIMH	160	151	149	1253	1790	2069
OE	83	337	255	175	150	250
FAA	-	-	-	-	-	-
NSF	1333	1312	1296	137	7	-
Other	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	1426	2294	1811	1931	2252	2519
	Applied Research					
Defense	-	-	-	-	-	-
NIH/NIMH	160	197	178	618	756	888
OE	206	-	-	63	165	200
FAA	-	-	-	467	70	153
NSF	-	-	-	-	-	260
Other	1	1	-	-	-	5
TOTAL	367	198	178	1148	991	1506

Source: National Science Foundation, Federal Funds for Research, Development and Other Scientific Activities, Vols. 18, 19, 20, 21.

Note: Amounts reported for 1972 and 1973 are estimates, and are subject to further appropriation, apportionment or allocation decisions.

Abbreviations: NIH/NIMH: National Institutes of Health/National Institute of Mental Health
OE: Office of Education
FAA: Federal Aviation Administration

Other category: 1968, 1969: Office of Science and Technology
1973: Action

Table 3.22. Net Increase Predicted in Linguistics Faculty, 1973-74.

Type of Institution (by highest linguistics degree offered)	No. of New Positions	1972-73 Staff	Percentage of Increase
PhD in linguistics:			
14 most prestigious departments	1	144	0.7
Other departments	5	183	2.7
Master's in linguistics	1	84	1.2
Bach. in linguistics	1	64	0.6
PhD or MA/MS in another major with concentration in linguistics	3	125	2.4
Other four-year institutions	5	124	4.3
TOTAL	16	724	2.2

Source: Survey of Linguistics Dept and Prog Heads, 1973.

Table 3.23. Net Increase Predicted in Linguistics Faculty, 1972-77.

Type of Institution (by highest linguistics degree offered)	No. of New Positions	1972-73 Staff	% Increase 1972-77	% Increase 1967-72
PhD in linguistics:				
14 most prestigious departments	9	144	6.3	28.6
Other departments	22	183	12.0	32.6
Master's in linguistics	15	84	17.9	21.7
Bach's in linguistics	13	64	20.3	47.1
PhD or Master's in another major with concentration in linguistics	12	125	9.6	34.4
Other four-year institutions	29	124	23.4	24.2
TOTAL	100	724	13.8	23.2
			2.5%/Yr.	5.4%/Yr.

Source: Survey of Linguistics Dept and Prog Heads, 1973.

Respondents to the survey of linguistics department and program heads were asked the areas of specialization in which they hoped to expand. A number did not know and others qualified their replies as a guess, but among those responding the largest single category named was foreign languages and linguistics, with a variety of specific languages, both commonly and uncommonly taught, listed. Applied linguistics was also frequently mentioned, along with sociolinguistics and general linguistics. Department heads frequently say informally, however, that they hire the person first, and the specialty second, working a good person into whatever slot is available.

As the tables show, new positions are least likely to become available at the most prestigious institutions and most likely at schools with the smallest programs. Generally, more expansion is anticipated at the undergraduate level.

3.3.4.2 Non-academic Demand

As for non-academic demand for linguists, the percentage trend from 1964-1970 (the period covered by the National Register) was down--from 23% to 17% of all employed linguists, 11.1% to 8.6% of employed PhDs, while the numbers thus employed remained constant. The 1973 LSA survey showed the situation unchanged since 1970. There is no indication that non-academic jobs for linguists are going unfilled, so unless recent trends are reversed, the non-academic sector will continue to provide one job for every nine or ten in the academic sector at the PhD level, i.e., seven or eight a year, and one for every six or seven overall, i.e., ten or eleven a year.

3.3.4.3 Estimated Demand: Summary

Death and retirement will provide some vacancies; these are discussed in Section 3.2, where they are taken into account in calculating net increases in the number of PhD linguists.

In sum, if recent trends continue and departmental estimates are correct, we can expect eighty or ninety new positions each year in linguistics.

3.3.4.4 Two-Year Colleges

One potential source of employment for linguists frequently suggested but so far unexploited is two-year colleges. Our own investigations have revealed only that the number of linguists at such institutions now is minute and that their work is in English and foreign languages rather than linguistics itself. We therefore turn to reports from those fields, first an unpublished University of Texas report on training junior college English teachers (based on research and a series of conferences of heads of community college English departments):

"Junior College Growth. In general this is a period of stabilization, rather than a period of expansion, just as it is for senior colleges and universities--at the national level. [The authors then note local variations, such as a drop in enrollments in the Miami area and expansion in Texas.]

"In all these situations there is an urgent need for properly trained teachers. Almost without exception, the hiring officials of these institutions express a distrust of the traditional English graduate student, trained to research and specialization..."

On other programs: "nationally there have been many programs started for training the two year college English teacher. Some of these instant programs have been disasters and others have been thinly disguised attempts to place graduate students unsuccessful in finding jobs at 'more prestigious' institutions..."
On the teacher training curriculum"...composition and rhetoric are...national concerns. The committee itself was surprised at the pugnacity displayed by the junior college teachers when talking about their lack of preparation in teaching composition.... In effect, the junior college is concerned with composition courses about three times as much as it is with literature courses...
"In the case of the pre-service training program, sentiment was almost universal for requirement of an internship at a junior college, preferably not at the last stage of the student's preparation.

"Most of the chairpersons reacted favorably to a program of the M.A. plus some 30 hours of work. When asked if they would hire a PhD, the reaction was varied. If a generalization could be made, the larger systems indicated they would hire PhD's, provided they had the proper training. However, the smaller rural schools considered the typical English PhD too snobbish, too specialized, and too expensive. Many persons said they preferred a teacher with some public school experience--preferably high school..."
On the faculty for training junior college teachers"...two overriding concerns recurred throughout the discussions when the faculty of such a program was discussed. First and foremost, the representatives hoped that we would hire some people with actual junior college experience to teach the program. Secondly, they viewed the faculty as interdisciplinary since there would be representatives from the English departments, from the various education departments, from speech, conceivably from psychology and philosophy".[1]

Another study by the MLA found that "only 18% of junior college foreign language chairmen indicated willingness to hire PhD's, and only 31% in English." The author also noted that two-year college expansion was expected to decrease, that graduate schools were "already graduating approximately five MA's for every new position expected to become available in existing two-year institutions in the next five years," and that

> junior and community colleges seem by and large never to have felt a need for PhD's. Not only is PhD training too specialized, but the feeling has grown up that PhD's cost too much and are too

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1/ James Kinneavy, "Training English Teachers for Texas Community Colleges, A Background Report," unpublished report of the Graduate Studies Committee of the Department of English, University of Texas at Austin. Readers may also be interested in articles cited in this report: "Guidelines for Junior College English Teacher Training Programs," College Composition and Communication, Vol. 22 (October, 1971) pp.303-13; Jerome W. Archer and Wilfred A. Ferrell, Research and the Development of English Programs in the Junior College (Bloomington, Ill.: National Council of Teachers of English, 1965); Richard J. Worthen and Michael Shugrue, The Focus Report on the National Study of English in the Junior College (Bloomington, Ill.: ERIC, 1969).

frequently dissatisfied with their roles. Finally, since the junior-or community-college chairman may not himself be a PhD, he may be somewhat reluctant to hire one to work for him.[1]

None of this is to say that there is no place for linguists in two-year colleges. The profession has an ample supply of MA's potentially eligible for such employment (and given the unemployment rate of linguists at this level, the potential is well worth investigating.) But it does mean that junior colleges are an unlikely site for placement of PhD's who do not find jobs at four-year institutions. It also means that linguists who seek such employment will probably be required to apply their linguistics training to the solution of practical problems in teaching English--especially remedial English and composition--and elementary foreign language courses.

3.3.4.5 Positions in Related Fields

One further source of jobs frequently mentioned is positions in related fields. It is impossible to predict how many linguists will be able to make their way into such situations, but they will face competition. Other disciplines for which linguists have appropriate training, such as foreign languages, English and anthropology, are already overcrowded, as reports from their professional associations indicate. Moreover, almost half the linguists at colleges and universities are already in departments of English and foreign languages and another quarter in other outside departments. Furthermore, linguists obtaining positions in other fields could be balanced off by specialists in these fields filling linguistics positions, especially those in which training in two fields is desired (e.g., a joint English and linguistics position or one in anthropological linguistics).[2]

A number of questionnaire respondents commented on their experiences with other disciplines. Several were positive, for example a recent PhD in English linguistics, now an assistant professor of English at a private university.

> I have placed myself on the job market twice, once before my dissertation was completed and once after. Neither time have I had the problems getting interviews and offers that my colleagues with degrees only in literature seem to have had.

1/ David Orr, "The Job Market in English and Foreign Languages," PMLA, Vol. 85 (Nov., 1970), pp. 1186-89.

2/ Although our statistics on the work force include such specialists—on the rationale that their positions could equally well be filled by persons who identify with linguistics—our projections of new PhDs and our statistics on graduate students cover only those who consider themselves linguists.

An assistant professor of linguistics:

> I feel my TESOL training and experience have been a strong plus factor in getting jobs even when I've taught straight linguistics.

A graduate student in English linguistics:

> _____[a large university]'s English Department had about fifty people actively seeking employment for the 73-74 academic year. As of April 26, 1973 eighteen have jobs, and four of these are for one year only. It looks like people with more than one string in their bow have done better: literature and linguistics, literature and film, literature and stylistics, pop culture (whatever that is); generally, any one traditional period or genre and one 'odd ball' field have been fairly marketable.

And a professor at a community college:

> My experience with junior colleges indicates that, regardless of other background, most positions are being filled by persons capable of teaching courses in at least two "common" languages.

Others reported different reactions, for example two doctoral students, the first with an MA in psychology and the second with an MA in Spanish:

> Most employers, business, engineering, psychology have little knowledge of linguistics. Psychologists are often openly antagonistic (outspokenly) toward linguistics.

> I was shocked to learn at the December MLA Convention in New York that too many recruiters representing language departments at "name" colleges and universities have very little concept of what linguistics is all about, let alone the relevance of applied linguistics to their own field.

and two associate professors in English and Spanish respectively:

> English departments, in general, don't understand what linguists are about. These departments are far too literature oriented.

> It's still difficult to find university employment primarily in the field of linguistics when working in a specific language area (e. g., Spanish linguistics). Departments with good language programs are often literature-oriented, and require language analysis courses only in a subsidiary way.

Two other professors, in Romance and Spanish linguistics, commented on linguistics-language rivalries:

> I love my field, but wish I could practice my specialities in an institution where they were more highly appreciated. Linguistics

> as such is viewed with utter contempt at ______[university offering a linguistics PhD], where we unfortunately are placed in direct competition with a larger and somewhat rapacious department of literature.
>
> I have noticed a strong opposition on the part of professors of literature. Right now I am looking for a position because of my supervisor [who has] a strong prejudice against linguists. She and I came from ______[a university] at the same time and she was appointed coordinator without any merits at all other than comments about the non-necessity of linguistic approaches in the teaching of foreign languages.

On the other hand, a professor in psycho-linguistics suggested:

> One possible approach [to the lack of jobs in linguistics] will be to set up combination programs: linguistics and clinical psychology, or linguistics and education, etc. Such combination might prove helpful to grad students in finding jobs, and it may in the long run increase the need for people with linguistics training.

and several respondents on the hiring side emphasized versatility, like a professor of Spanish at a large state university:

> Versatility in language teaching is a distinct asset in landing a job, particularly at the junior levels for faculty. Specifically in Spanish, the specialist in Spanish linguistics should be able to give courses of a descriptive and historical nature, applied linguistics for teaching, courses in composition and conversation.

and a professor of English and ESOL at another large state university:

> The linguists we have hired here (and the majority, I suspect, that are hired elsewhere) must have two important qualifications: (1) they must have a "departmental fit" - that is, they must be able to teach some of the courses traditionally offered in English, anthropology, languages, etc. and (2) they should have some interest in "applied" work--teacher-training, bilingual education, etc.

3.4 Career Preferences

Although linguists seeking employment will presumably take whatever positions are available, competition will be more intense in some areas, because of individual preferences. We found that in general both linguists and students aspire to what is presently the prevailing pattern--academic employment, doing teaching and research in a wide variety of linguistic specialties.

3.4.1 Type of Employer

Almost everyone wants to work in higher education, which was the first choice of 90% of the employed linguists and doctoral students; most preferred a university with a graduate program in linguistics. Universities without graduate linguistics programs and four-year schools were their overwhelming second and third choices. The same order of choice prevailed for master's students also, although their preferences were more varied. Table 3.24 gives a complete breakdown. Two-year schools and non-academic institutions, though frequently mentioned as potential sources of employment for linguists, are not where they would work if given a choice. One respondent, a part-time instructor at a regional state university said:

> I feel fortunate to even be teaching and researching something I've been trained to teach, but because of the number of linguists our program produced and continues to produce, my husband and I [both linguists] feel unfulfilled. We have so many friends seeking jobs in linguistics, and we do have jobs even if I am only paid by the credit hour. However, I don't feel that we should have guilt feelings because we would like to be at a university with a well-developed linguistics program (or where people knew what linguistics was and understood its value) and be able to put our linguistics training to good use.

Such ambitions were not unrealistic in the past, since linguistics has been primarily an academic, graduate level discipline. Of 1,027 linguists listed in the 1966 University Resources, 70% were at universities with graduate linguistics programs. Currently, 90% of linguistics PhDs are at colleges and universities, and in both the 1971-72 University Resources and the 1973 LSA Membership Survey 64% of the academically employed linguists were at institutions offering a linguistics doctorate or master's degree. However, as Section 3.3.4 indicates, henceforth linguists are not likely to find jobs where they have in the past.

An analysis of preferred employer type by the type of institution where respondents were currently working showed that almost everyone in the academic sector wanted to stay there--but would prefer a school with a graduate program. Furthermore half of those in the non-academic sector would also prefer a university. On the other hand, a few expressed enthusiasm for their non-academic jobs, for example a young MA in Slavic linguistics now working as a subject cataloger in a large research library:

> I entered the library field because, after two years, my NDEA VI fellowship was terminated. I have not regretted it for a moment. The field of academic or research librarianship offers ample opportunities for intellectual stimulation (vis a vis the organization, classification of, and access to information) and service to scholars... Linguists with advanced degrees have an advantage in the already-crowded library job market.

Table 3.24. Preferred Employer Type of Linguists and Linguistics Graduate Students, 1973.

Employed Linguists

Type of Employer	Choice #1 No.	Choice #1 %	Choice #2 No.	Choice #2 %[a]	Choice #3 No.	Choice #3 %[a]
	Linguists in the Work Force					
Univ with grad ling prog	268	81.0	29	8.8	3	0.9
Univ w/out grad ling prog	6	1.8	204	61.6	28	8.5
Four-year college	22	6.7	35	10.6	151	45.6
Junior college	3	0.9	3	0.9	11	3.3
Federal government	3	0.9	8	2.4	22	6.7
Ele or sec school	1	0.3	3	0.9	3	0.9
Non-profit organization	13	3.9	17	5.1	27	8.2
Private business	5	1.5	7	2.1	16	4.8
Other	10	3.0	7	2.1	6	1.8
TOTAL	331	100.0				
	Doctoral Students					
Univ with grad ling prog	394	78.0	52	10.3	12	2.4
Univ w/out grad ling prog	11	2.2	276	54.7	67	13.3
Four-year college	37	7.3	53	10.5	218	43.2
Junior college	1	0.2	10	2.0	32	6.3
Federal government	7	1.4	26	5.2	34	6.7
Ele or sec school	2	0.4	2	0.4	9	1.8
Non-profit organization	19	3.8	28	5.5	28	5.5
Private business	11	2.2	6	1.2	22	4.4
Other	23	4.6	22	4.4	14	2.8
TOTAL	505	100.1				
	Masters Students					
Univ with grad ling prog	79	40.7	16	8.3	11	5.7
Univ w/out grad ling prog	6	3.1	42	21.7	9	4.6
Four-year college	26	13.4	36	18.6	46	23.7
Junior college	21	10.8	30	15.5	20	10.3
Federal government	6	3.1	13	6.7	19	9.8
Ele or sec school	10	5.2	10	5.2	13	6.7
Non-profit organization	23	11.9	14	7.2	15	7.7
Private business	12	6.2	9	4.6	10	5.2
Other	11	5.7	5	2.6	8	4.1
TOTAL	194	100.1				

Sources: LSA Membership Survey, 1973.
Survey of Linguistics Graduate Students, 1973.

[a] As percentage of total number responding to the question.

3.4.2 Work Activity

Respondents were also asked how they would prefer to allocate their time among work activities. Of PhDs already working, one-third would prefer teaching as their exclusive primary work activity, one-fourth research, and another third teaching and research equally. Added up, about 70% would like teaching to be a primary work activity and 62% felt the same about research. In actuality, teaching is a primary work activity for 70%, but research only for 24%. Apparently linguists are not doing as much research as they would like, but would not elect to downgrade teaching. Non-PhDs in the work force indicated slightly more interest in teaching, slightly less in research. Few at any level expressed a preference for administration or other work activities.

Among doctoral students, 70% would also prefer teaching as a primary work activity, while 44% named research; for master's students the figures were 74% and 27% respectively.[1] Thus there is no indication that graduate students want to be researchers first and teachers second. They too expressed little interest in administration and other work activities.

3.4.3 Area of Specialization

Questions on the areas of specialization in which respondents would prefer to work[2] brought much the same response as other questions about areas of specialization. The largest single category among linguists in the LSA was foreign languages and linguistics, followed by English linguistics, psycholinguistics, historical and comparative linguistics, sociolinguistics, and syntax. Among graduate students--almost all in departments of linguistics--foreign languages and linguistics was also the largest single category, followed by sociolinguistics--or TESOL, for master's students only--, syntax, psycholinguistics, and phonology. There were some differences associated with level of training--PhD's and doctoral students on the one hand and non-PhD's and master's students on the other, the former expressing more interest in historical and comparative linguistics, English linguistics, foreign languages and linguistics, and psycholinguistics. Comparison of graduate students and working linguists shows students more interested in sociolinguistics and the theoretical areas of syntax, semantics, and phonology,

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1/ Respondents to the LSA Membership Survey were asked how they would prefer to allocate their working time among various activities, while graduate students were asked to which one they would prefer to devote the primary part of their working time. Since the latter were urged to choose one activity, the figures above do not necessarily indicate a lesser interest on their part in research. They do indicate continued high interest in teaching.

2/ Respondents were asked in which of their areas of specialization or special interest, as they had listed them in a previous question, they would prefer to work.

and fewer in historical and comparative and applied linguistics.[1] If we recall that the foreign languages category covers a wide variety of subjects, the preferences of both working linguists and students seem fairly well distributed. There is no great imbalance, as is sometimes suggested, on the side of theoretical linguistics,[2] although there is little interest in applied linguistics labelled as such. Interest in psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics (which have applied aspects) is high and apparently rising, but interest in other interdisciplinary areas, such as anthropological linguistics or linguistics and literature is small.

3.5 Unemployment and Underemployment in Linguistics

Turning from the future to the present, the most immediate measure of the state of the job market in linguistics is the unemployment rate. In 1970 5.2% of National Register respondents in the work force were unemployed and seeking employment; a follow-up survey in 1971 revealed 4.5% unemployed. The rates varied with respondents' highest degree, PhD's having the lowest. (See Table 3.26 for details)

Our 1973 survey of LSA members showed the situation substantially unchanged: 4.1% of this sample described themselves as unemployed and wanting employment. (This sample has a higher percentage of PhD's than the National Register group, see Chapter I.) A cumulative total of 9% reported having been unemployed at some time in the last three years; 60% of this group are still unemployed or seriously underemployed.

Comments on the completed questionnaires and information gleaned from other questions indicate, however, that employment problems in linguistics are more serious than the unemployment rate suggests. The highly educated are more likely to be underemployed than unemployed. We determined underemployment by inspecting each questionnaire in our sample; we included only obvious cases e.g., those wanting full-time but having only part-time employment, PhD's teaching at low salaries in high schools, and MA's working as secretaries or library clerks.

Since the difference between the unemployed and underemployed seemed to be one mainly of personal circumstances (e.g., having a working spouse) and preferences (e.g., willingness to do translating or lower-level library work), we combined the categories and added a few respondents about to lose their jobs with no prospects of another. We found that 10.4% of the linguistics work force is in obvious employment trouble. As before, the rate varies with degree level. (See Table 3.27).

1/ Differences in the categories of English and foreign languages and linguistics are probably due to the graduate student respondents' all being in departments of linguistics.

2/ There is considerable overlap among the theoretical categories because many respondents who named syntax also listed phonology or semantics.

Table 3.25. Preferred Working Specialties of Linguists and Linguistics Graduate Students, by Degree Level or Degree Sought, 1973.

Working specialization(s) preferred	Work Force				Graduate Students					
					Doctoral				Master's	
					Seeking employment –					
	PhD		Non-PhD		Bef 12/74		75 or aft			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
General linguistics	6	2.3	13	7.8	12	5.6	7	3.8	4	2.8
Hist & comp ling	27	10.2	8	4.8	14	6.5	15	8.1	2	1.4
Socioling/dialect.	26	9.8	16	9.6	37	17.1	34	18.4	22	15.4
Mis topics/gen ling	25	9.4	5	3.0	–		2	1.1	1	0.7
Theory of language	20	7.6	8	4.8	14	6.5	6	3.2	6	4.2
Syntax	24	9.1	29	17.4	31	14.4	27	14.6	7	4.9
Phonology	22	8.3	17	10.2	27	12.5	19	10.3	1	0.7
Semantics	17	6.4	8	4.8	20	9.3	17	9.2	8	5.6
Other theoretical	4	1.5	1	0.6	2	0.9	2	1.1	–	
Applied ling, gen	8	3.0	2	1.2	1	0.5	–		3	2.1
Ling and education	6	2.3	4	2.4	4	1.9	2	1.1	6	4.2
TESOL	16	6.0	11	6.6	13	6.0	5	2.7	40	28.0
Other applied	6	2.3	6	3.6	6	2.8	5	2.7	4	2.8
English linguistics	41	15.5	13	7.8	17	7.9	10	5.4	5	3.5
For lang/linguistics	113	42.6	60	35.9	84	38.9	74	34.6	42	29.4
Phonetics	10	3.8	2	1.2	4	1.9	5	2.7	1	0.7
Communication science	4	1.5	–		1	0.5	1	0.5	2	1.4
Psycholinguistics	36	13.6	18	10.8	29	13.4	32	17.3	12	8.4
Anthro linguistics	9	3.4	5	3.0	6	2.8	3	1.6	5	3.5
Computational ling	7	2.6	3	1.8	5	2.3	6	3.2	2	1.4
Mathematical ling	–		1	0.6	–		3	1.6	–	
Philosophy of lang	3	1.1	–		1	0.5	–		2	1.4
Ling and literature	11	4.2	1	0.6	3	1.4	3	1.6	2	1.4
Neurolinguistics	5	1.2	4	2.4	1	0.5	3	1.6	1	0.7
Other fields	8	3.0	6	3.6	4	1.9	2	1.1	6	4.2
TOTAL no. of respondents	265		167		216		185		143	

Sources: LSA Membership Survey, 1973.
Survey of Linguistics Graduate Students, 1973.

a/Up to four specialties were tabulated per respondent for linguists in the work force, up to three for graduate students.

Table 3.26. Unemployment Rates of Linguists, 1970 and 1971.

Highest Degree	1970	1971
PhD	1.8%	1.2%
Master's	11.1%	9.5%
Bachelor's	9.8%	15.9%
TOTAL	5.2%	4.5%

Source: NRSTP, 1970.
National Science Foundation, 1971.

Table 3.27. Unemployment and Underemployment of Linguists, 1973.

Degree Level	Rate	No.	Total Work Force
PhD	7.7%	21	273
PhD Candidate	14.6%	6	41
Master's	26.2%	11	42
TOTAL	10.4%	38	364

Source: LSA Membership Survey, 1973.

Two other sources provide some indication of the job market for linguistics PhD's in the immediate past. Heads of linguistics departments and programs were asked what had become of their PhD graduates of the preceding two years.[1] They replied that 3.2% were not employed (8 out of 234) and that another 6.7% were employed, but not in linguistics or related fields.

The questionnaires administered for the Doctorate Record File ask PhD's about their employment plans as of the time of their graduation. Table 3.28 shows the results since 1963. In 1971, the most recent year for which figures are available, only 65% had a definite commitment for employment. Over 19% had no firm prospects. Almost 10% planned further training, a majority for the purpose of adding experience, but some because they intended to change fields. The latter reason has been given only since 1970 and only by U.S. citizens.

The most significant characteristics of unemployed and underemployed linguists appear to be degree level, already discussed, and sex. Women constitute 26% of the work force but 44% of the un- and underemployed in the LSA Membership Survey. Within their respective groups the rate of un- and underemployment is over twice as high for women, married or single (18% for each group), as for men (8% overall); the rate for single men (13%) is higher than that for married men (7%). Earlier studies have shown similar results. In the 1970 NRSTP, for example, the unemployment rate for women was twice that for men. According to their department heads, the recent PhD's not currently employed constitute 1% of the men, but 8% of the women. More detailed information appears in Chapter VII. Several of the unemployed married persons in the LSA sample are restricted to localities where their spouses can be employed, a situation reflecting the difficulties for two-career families in a field like linguistics, where the number of jobs in any one location is likely to be small. Although one might expect variation by areas of specialization, the 1973 data do not indicate any as being particularly under- or over-supplied, except for historical and comparative linguistics (over-supplied) and a few very highly specialized areas where three specialists constitute a shortage and five, an over-supply (e.g., certain uncommonly taught languages). There seems to be no particular advantage or disadvantage to being in theoretical linguistics, applied linguistics, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics or anthropological linguistics, nor to having skills in particular foreign languages, English language and literature, or ESOL.

Other factors investigated among the un- and underemployed respondents to the LSA Membership Survey include institution and year of PhD, and number of publications and years of experience. Most of the PhD's in this group are recent graduates--post-1970. Graduates of the fourteen most prestigious linguistics departments are represented roughly in proportion to their overall numbers: about two-thirds of all linguistics PhD's are from these departments,

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[1] They were asked about their MA/MS graduates also, but the response rate on this part of the question was too low to permit any conclusions.

Table 3.28. Postdoctoral Plans of Linguistics Ph 971.

Plans	Year of PhD					
	1963-64	1965-66	1967	1968	1970	1971
Definite commitment to employment	76.1%	78.9%	78.2%	80.7%	78.8%	64.8%
Further training	1.8%	1.8%	3.3%	1.8%	5.8%	9.7%
Prospects not firm or uncertain	15.6%	9.9%	14.1%	13.2%	12.4%	19.3%
Military	.9%	.6%		1.8%	1.5%	1.1%
Unknown	5.5%	8.8%	4.3%	2.6%	1.5%	5.1%
TOTAL	99.9%	100.0%	99.9%	100.1%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: NAS-NRC, Doctorate Records File.

as were almost two-thirds of the respondents in question. Most have several, but not a long list of publications; however, most are recent graduates and their publication records compare favorably with those of linguistics graduate students now entering the job market (see Section 2.5.8). Experience does not seem to be a significant factor. Statistics from the Doctorate Record File show that on the average, graduating PhD's without any firm job prospects do not differ in number of years experience from those who already have jobs.

Further documentation of problems associated with the job market in linguistics comes from questionnaire respondents who described the difficulties they have experienced and their feelings about them. Because these problems provided the initial impetus for this study, and because these respondents represent a significant percentage of linguists, we quote their comments at some length.

First, four recent PhD's the first in historical and Germanic linguistics, now teaching at the equivalent of a high school in Europe, a position obtained after five months of unemployment:

> I have not been able to find any employment in the U.S. during the last two years, in spite of having published and having the PhD, and I have written and personally gone all over the North American continent in search of a job. I have almost given up hope of being able ever again to feed my seven-member family as a university professor. Incidentally, the professorial cynicism which I have met regarding this hard fate is difficult to believe.

A 1970 PhD in linguistics and Greek, as of the writing, an assistant professor of English at a private urban university:

> My position was eliminated from the budget in the university I was at last year. This is the third year I have been searching for another "permanent" position and I'm having miserable luck. My present appointment is a one-year replacement. The market is worse this year than last.

A woman employed part-time in an English language institute:

> Getting a PhD in languages and linguistics was disastrous for me because I dropped out of the job market for five years. During this time most of the supervisory and university positions in ESOL and ESOL-related fields were filled by non-PhD's who stumbled into ESOL from other fields and received "on the job training". Now that I have finished my PhD, I am unable to find a permanent full-time position. I cannot even get a job teaching ESOL in the public school system (I tried!) because I am "overqualified"; they prefer to hire teachers right out of college because they can pay them less. A male junior high school principal (who did not have a PhD) suggested that instead of trying to find work, I stay home and raise a family. Another problem I face is that I cannot leave [this] area. I have not given up yet, but I may be forced to switch fields completely in order to get a permanent position.

And a linguist just getting a PhD in linguistics and Japanese, about to begin teaching English for a private corporation in Japan:

> I was unable to locate/be hired for a suitable teaching job having anything to do with linguistics, anywhere in the U.S., for the current academic year.

Several linguists already employed as they write doctoral dissertations reported similar difficulties, for example a part-time lecturer at a branch of a state university:

> I consider myself lucky to have any job at all. Despite what I thought was a respectable academic record and complete geographic freedom I have been unable to find a full time job. I am increasingly considering leaving linguistics for a job in the business field.

And an instructor of English at a state college:

> I have a one-year appointment at the school where I now teach, and have been informed that budgetary considerations preclude my being rehired. Despite the fact that I have published a good deal (for someone who knew nothing about linguistics four years ago), have a guaranteed PhD by June, 1973 (the dissertation will be defended in a few weeks), have given two LSA papers, and have taught linguistics in three different universities and colleges, my chances for employment next year appear, at this time, to be practically nil. I have found myself over-qualified for the schools without graduate linguistics programs and seemingly under-qualified for those with them. I have found smaller schools leery of research-oriented linguists, and larger ones leery of young candidates without national reputations. In short, especially because my language strengths are in Latin and Greek, which are not much in demand, I find myself right in the middle.

A specialist in English linguistics documented the disparity between jobs and applicants in his experience:

> In looking for work last year, I sent out 70 applications to MLA-listed schools. Thirteen requested dossiers. Went to Chicago for three interviews, and was invited to interview at three other campuses last spring. Of the latter three, two offered jobs. Was told by the schools offering jobs that the number of applicants for my position was between 200 and 300. Of schools with higher academic standing than the one I am currently employed at (cf. *Graduate Education in the U.S.*), applications for open positions are spoken of in the MLA 1972 job listings as between 600 and 800.

Graduate students still in residence, finishing their dissertations and seeking positions for next year, reported frustration and difficulties, for example:

> My main feeling about the job market is profound depression. It seems very difficult to get a good job, and quite difficult to get any job at all. I have only one (definite) possibility for a job for next fall (so far) and that is not a very attractive one. And this is in spite of the fact that I know I am considered a promising linguist by my professors, which include _____ and _____, who are "big names" and whose opinion counts more than most people's. I suffer from the fact that they are now [elsewhere] and I am still [here]; this makes them forget me more, and I know that the only way to get a good job nowadays is to have a "big name" recommend you (I feel slightly bitter about this, although I understand it). I suffer also from the fact that my background is relatively narrow (I have done primarily syntax and semantics, although I have done some ethnolinguistics and TESOL). I would like to go back to Canada, where I come from, but the job market there is not worth speaking of--last year there was precisely one opening (for an assistant professor) which I know of (for a sociolinguist) and this year there also seems to be only one (at _____, for a phonologist, I hear). I certainly never imagined this would be the case when I first left Canada to go to graduate school in the U.S..

Another, in socio-linguistics and anthropology:

> I just returned in January from a field project in [the Caribbean]. However, my job prospects are as negative as my friends who were in the U.S. were telling me; in fact I received a letter of refusal in the mail with this letter. This makes 12 negative responses and no positive ones in the two months that I have been sending out letters of inquiry. I am seriously considering the possibility that I may never get a linguistics or anthropology related position.

A third, in socio-linguistics, Arabic and linguistic theory:

> I find the market depressing, of course. This year so far I have sent 200 plus letters of inquiry and while I may not still be jobless in September I will not be at all surprised if I am. I really don't know if the problem is with me, my department, or the national market.

The writers of the above comments come from a variety of university department, many from the country's most prestigious.

Linguists at the master's level reported similar problems. One now in adult education (ESOL), who was unemployed for over a year before obtaining her present position, said:

> Basically my master's degree in linguistics has not provided me with any job possibilities. My present job, which is not very good, was secured due to a TEFL certificate I got the year after my master's. I have applied to colleges, junior colleges, universities, fourteen in all, and not one has been at all interested. I wonder if a PhD would make that much difference.

Another in linguistics and Italian, said:

> Since I have found a complete lack of opportunity in the field of linguistics in the United States, I am presently looking for employment in Italy (where there is presently a need for American-English teachers). In the USA I found the vicious circle of no-experience no-job-without-experience, no-job no-experience, etc. The only employment I could find in _____[big city] in which I used, at least, my fluency in Italian, was as a tour guide--with obviously very poor wages, and indeed a waste of six years in a university! I do hope this study increases the linguistics student's employment opportunities.

Several respondents who had satisfactory positions attributed them to good luck, noting the unemployment of friends. Finally, two professors contributed their observations, one who teaches psycholinguistics at a university offering a linguistics PhD:

> Like everyone else, I'm having difficulty finding jobs for my graduate students. We, here at _____, have started telling first-year grad students that there aren't any decent jobs in the field, and that we can't be responsible for finding one for them when they finish.

And the head of a new PhD program at a plains state university:

> The job market, as far as I can determine, is nil. As Chairman of Linguistics, I have received so many unsolicited applications from very bright, excellent candidates for positions that it is depressing--especially when opportunities appear to be so lacking even if one becomes a part of the academic world. Raises here are way down, and in effect no one has received a raise (except for promotion) for the last three years. The future appears to be bleak: enrollment is down (30 percent in engineering, 20 percent in education) and we expect a further downturn next fall. Tuition keeps going up, preventing a number of students from enrolling.

3.6 Placement: Matching Positions and Candidates

The traditional system of informal personal contacts and recommendations is still the most likely way to obtain an academic linguistics position, according to surveys of both institutions and individuals made in connection with this study. Significant differences exist, however, between institutions which offer linguistics PhD and others.[1]

Questionnaires asked the heads of linguistics departments and programs how they had found new faculty members over the past five years and asked individual linguists how and when they had found their present positions. The results, in Tables 3.29 (institutions, 1967-72) and 3.30 (individual PhDs, 1970-73), are generally in agreement. At institutions offering a linguistics PhD the traditional informal means predominated--almost 80% of the linguists hired got their jobs through professors and colleagues or simply received unsolicited offers. Placement services were virtually unused, accounting for one position in all these institutions in five years. Unsolicited inquiries by candidates filled 12% of the positions in question.

At other types of academic institutions, the traditional means accounted for fewer than half the positions filled, while unsolicited applications filled one job in three and placement services one job in five. Information on non-academic institutions was too scant to permit any conclusions about that sector.

We also tabulated data from all individual respondents with a PhD both by the year they obtained their current position and by the time relative to the time of receipt of the PhD. The results were largely inconclusive but indicated that linguists who had had their doctorates for a year or more before taking their present positions were much more likely to have received an unsolicited offer and less likely to have gone through a professor or former professor. The tabulation also pointed to increasing use in recent years of placement services and unsolicited inquiries by job-seekers.

Although we have no indication that the current informal process creates any difficulties for employers, it does result in frustration for many individuals seeking employment. Several questionnaire respondents described the volume of paper their job search generated, like this assistant professor:

> Two years ago, I sent out 150 letters seeking to change my employment, and got no offers (the letters were sent only to areas where I wanted to move).

1/ We analyzed the results according to the seven-way division used in this study, but the only substantial differences were between the two types described.

Table 3.29. Means Through Which Academic Institutions Found Linguistics Faculty Members, 1967-72.

Source	Type of Institution					
	PhD-Granting[a]		Other		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Contacts with colleagues .	111	77.1	60	41.7	171	59.4
Unsolicited applications	18	12.5	47	32.6	65	22.6
Placement services	1	0.7	29	20.1	30	10.4
Other	14	9.7	8	5.6	22	7.6
TOTAL	144	100.0	144	100.0	288	100.0

Source: Survey of Linguistics Dept and Prog Heads, 1973.

Table 3.30. Means Through Which Linguistics PhDs Found Their Present Academic Positions, 1970-1973.

Source	Type of Employing Institution					
	PhD Granting[a]		Other		Total	
Professor or former professor	11	26%	9	16%	20	20%
Colleague	7	16%	10	18%	17	17%
Unsolicited offer by inst.	16	37%	6	10%	22	22%
Informal means, subtotal	34	79%	25	44%	59	59%
Unsolicited inquiry at inst.	5	12%	16	28%	21	21%
Placement services	1	2%	10	18%	11	11%
Other	3	7%	6	10%	9	9%
TOTAL	43	100%	57	100%	100	100%

Source: LSA Membership Survey, 1973.

NOTE: The number of respondents at non-academic institutions was too small (10) to permit any conclusions about that sector.

a/ Granting PhD in linguistics.

or the wife of a couple in linguistics:

> Out of 200 letters of application [my husband, a PhD in Romance linguistics] had two interviews and received one offer.

Others expressed resentment at the reception of their applications, for example:

> My experience with the job market has been universally negative. I have never had a job offer for a teaching position, and I am usually treated as if my application were a bother to the employer.
>
> The "professional job-market" seems not to exist; I have not even had acknowledgements of my applications.
>
> Since it is clearly a buyer's market, it is obvious why some potential employers are not extending even the most basic and elementary courtesy to job seekers: I'm sad to say, it starts on the "please" and "thank you" level--they don't bother to say either, some of them--and goes on from there....

The first is a recent PhD from a leading linguistics department, the second a PhD candidate in sociolinguistics from a major center in that area, and the third a PhD candidate in linguistics and Chinese.

With jobs scarce and the field expanding beyond the point where everyone knows everyone else, individual respondents expressed a strong desire for more comprehensive organized placement services. A number asked for help or for information about placement services. Several expressed a feeling that jobs were there if only they could be located:

> This [graduate student questionnaire] is a great general employment reference form. Why don't you provide a real service and use this in the job mill directly, i.e., do job search with this and get us jobs in this country or abroad.
>
> There must be positions available in private industry... or with the federal government requiring problem-solving capacities and training in the social sciences, but these seem to be largely unpublicized.

However, the surveys already cited and the experience of the LSA Secretariat and the Center for Applied Linguistics shows that employers rarely use existing services. An employment bulletin listing jobs and applicants was dropped by the LSA after two years partly because no one, to the knowledge of the Secretariat, ever got a job through it. The Center provides a job referral service, sending resumes from a file of job seekers to employers on request. As of summer 1974 the service had existed for two years and had 200-250 current resumes on file, but, although the service had been publicized in letters to department and program heads and announcements in various publications, in the preceding 15 months resumes had been requested by fewer than 10 employers. The problem--troublesome only to those seeking employment--lies not in the lack of formal services, but the failure of employers to use them.

3.7 Summary

The state of the job market is too complex a subject to yield to a simple comparison of slots and linguists. Readers are invited to consider all the factors discussed in the preceding sections and draw their own conclusions. We consider the following the most important:

--Ten percent of the linguistics work force overall and eight percent of the PhD's were unemployed, about to become unemployed, or severely underemployed as of March, 1973.

--If recent trends continue and departmental estimates are correct there will be eighty to ninety new linguistics positions per year in the near future, most at academic institutions and most for doctoral level linguists.

--The net increase projected in the doctoral work force alone is 150-185 per year for the next ten years. We know of 106 doctoral students seeking employment in 1973, 131 in 1974 among respondents to our survey (of approximately one-third of linguistics graduate students).

--It is difficult to estimate the supply of and demand for linguists at the master's level. Shifts in enrollment may take place quickly, and graduates may find jobs outside the field or stay in graduate school if they fail to obtain employment in linguistics. Moreover, the institutions where many are currently employed are not covered by our surveys--non-academic institutions, elementary and secondary schools, and junior colleges. We do know, however, that the unemployment rate is and has been higher among linguists at the master's than at the doctoral level, and that enrollment figures and short-range plans indicate that the number of master's graduates will continue undiminished--at least 350 a year--in the next few years. The number of linguists. Four year academic institutions still employ the majority of linguists with less than a PhD, but they constitute less than 10% of the total staff, including instructors and lecturers; with the increased availability of PhD's this number may decrease.

--Universities with graduate programs in linguistics, which have employed large numbers of linguists in the past, plan to expand relatively little in the near future. Given the current levels of enrollment at these institutions, they will produce many new PhD's but only a few new faculty positions.

--Expansion at the undergraduate level is the most promising source of new positions for linguists. At present linguistics is rarely studied by undergraduates; undergraduate programs are relatively few in number and small in size. This means there is room for expansion, but it also means that linguists will have to get newly created (expansion) positions or replace specialists in other fields. As increases in the rate of general undergraduate enrollment now, and the number of undergraduates levels off (as it is expected to do in the 1980's)[1] there will be few if any new positions, and departments will compete for students and existing positions; this process has already started. Information as of the summer of 1974, however, shows that linguistics is nevertheless continuing to make progress in expanding undergraduate programs.

--Two year and non-academic institutions, frequently mentioned as potential sources of jobs for linguists, provide relatively few employment opportunities at present. Realization of this potential may require both positive efforts by linguists to make a place for themselves and the application of linguistics training to work other than linguistics. Furthermore, both current practices and comments by persons associated with such institutions indicate that the most appropriate training for many positions in them is master's level; i.e., they are unlikely to employ PhD's who fail to find positions at four-year academic institutions. Two year colleges are almost untouched by linguistics. The few linguists currently employed there are in English or the commonly taught foreign languages. The non-academic sector currently employs 34% of the MA's 10% of the PhD's in linguistics; the trend has been to maintain a constant number, hence a decreasing percentage of linguists.

--None of the above areas which might provide added future employment are what working linguists or students aspire to, which is teaching and research in universities with graduate programs in linguistics. (These positions will be the hardest to find.)

--Fields outside linguistics which deal with languages are more than a potential source of employment. English and foreign languages departments already employ half the linguists in higher education. Unfortunately, a severe unemployment problem currently exists in the language disciplines. A small number of linguists (in the narrow meaning of those who consider themselves linguists) have found places in other fields. However, a psychology department is more likely to hire a psychologist (with psychology degrees) with a knowledge of linguistics than a linguist with a knowledge of psychology, and the same is true of fields such as sociology, anthropology, speech, philosophy, communications and education. Again, the realization of potential jobs in related fields may depend on linguists' ability to make a place for themselves and to apply linguistics training to other areas. It may also require that individuals take training or even advanced degrees in these other

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1/ See generally Carnegie Commission on Higher Education. New Students and New Places: Policies for the Future Growth and Development of American Higher Education. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1971: Allan M. Cartter, "Scientific Manpower for 1970-1985," Science 172 (April 9, 1971), pp. 132-40; Dael Wolfle and Charles V. Kidd, "The Future Market for Ph.D.'s," Science 173 (August 27, 1971), pp. 784-93. Disagreeing are Ted R. Vaughan and Gideon Sjoberg, "The Politics of Projection. A Critique of Cartter's Analysis," Science 177 (July 14, 1972), pp. 142-47.

fields. The reverse process may also occur, as specialists in related fields seek employment in linguistics.

--Areas of specialization do not seem particularly relevent to employment opportunities, except for the following:

Historical and comparative linguistics (exclusively an academic specialty) appears to be in over-supply.

Highly specialized areas, including most of the uncommonly taught languages, are risky because positions for them are rare. Three specialists may amount to a scarcity, but five to an oversupply.

Applied linguistics was mentioned by several department and program heads speaking of future hiring, and non-academic positions are likely to require applied work. Labelled as such, applied linguistics has attracted relatively few specialists and students and has accounted for few of the academic positions filled recently; however, much the same ground may be covered in psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics, which are currently very popular.

Language specialization (English, TESOL, or foreign languages) is prevalent among linguists both in their training and their work. Many positions for which linguists are eligible may require it.

--The majority of linguistics positions are filled through the traditional means of informal contacts among colleagues, and most of the rest by unsolicited inquiries from job applicants. Organized services exist, but are rarely used by employers. This system produces frustration for job-seekers, and keeps the number of candidates for any given job small (since most potential candidates do not know about available jobs), but apparently performs the function of filling available positions smoothly.

Chapter IV

Linguists, Area Studies, and the Uncommonly Taught Languages

This chapter will discuss linguists as specialists in the uncommonly taught languages, which include all living languages except Spanish, French, Italian, German, Russian, and English. Study and teaching of these languages will be considered primarily in the wider context of language and area studies in the United States,[1] a subject discussed extensively in Richard D. Lambert's comprehensive study, *Language and Area Studies Review*,[2] which provides some of the material for this chapter. Other sources of data are the biannual Modern Language Association surveys of language enrollment, and the LSA's surveys of linguists, linguistics graduate students, and linguistic department and program heads.

Estimates of the total number of language and area specialists for each world area who are citizens or residents of the United States appear in Table 4.1, along with the number and percentage Lambert estimates to speak, read or write an area language easily, and the current number of graduate students. The table introduces several ideas discussed in this chapter: sizeable numbers of area specialists exist but their levels of linguistic competence are low; world areas vary widely (as do languages within them) in both absolute numbers and percentages of specialists possessing language skills; and relatively large numbers of students are in training to be area specialists, well over half again as many as now exist, a situation which extends to language specialists, including linguists.

4.1 The Uncommonly Taught Languages

4.1.1 Developments 1958-1970

4.1.1.1 Instruction

The recent history of instruction in the uncommonly taught languages is one of great expansion; it is closely associated with the National Defense Education Act (NDEA), designed to promote language and area studies in this country. In 1958, at the beginning of the NDEA program, all American universities and colleges together offered instruction in only 37 languages; by 1966-67 NDEA centers offered 129 languages (Lambert, p. 156). Funds from NDEA alone have brought about the

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1/ Although the overlap is great, the languages of concern in world area studies are not entirely the same as the uncommonly taught languages. First, the primary languages of two world areas are commonly taught -- Spanish in Latin America and Russian in Eastern Europe. Second, some uncommonly taught languages are not a subject for federally-supported area centers. Area studies surveys exclude, for example, Western European languages such as Swedish or Dutch, and North American Indian languages. Although such languages concern Americans (for example, in connection with the education of linguistics minorities), comprehensive statistics on specialization in these languages are unavailable. We have therefore confined our consideration of the supply of and demand for specialists to the ambit of language and area studies.

2/ Sponsored by the Social Science Research Council, the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Monograph No. 17, Philadelphia, 1973.

Table 4.1. Estimated Number of Language and Area Specialists by World Area, 1971.

World Area	Individual Specialists			Current graduate students
	Total	Speak, read or write a language easily		
		No.	% of area specialists	
Latin America	2188	1950	89.1	1802
Eastern Europe	2218	1807	81.5	1205
Middle East	1662	931	56.0	575
Africa	1755	321	18.3	1044
South Asia	1059	378	35.7	488
Southeast Asia	659	112	17.0	333
East Asia	3144	1910	60.8	1730
TOTAL	12,685	7409	58.4	7177

Source: Lambert, Table 9.1, pp. 368-69.

preparation of materials in 141 languages (Lambert, p. 197). The increase in enrollments since 1958 appears in Table 4.2, taken directly from the Lambert study.[1] Setting aside the three languages with large prior enrollments (Spanish, Russian, and Hebrew), enrollment increased almost eight times over again during this period, from 3000 to 24,000. On the basis of the data in the table, Lambert classifies the languages into several groups: The first is Spanish, Russian and Hebrew, the most commonly taught languages relevant to language and area studies. Spanish, he finds, was well established in 1958, and has remained so, comprising about one-fourth of all language enrollments in higher education, although its growth rate has recently slowed. Russian enjoyed substantial growth with the beginning of NDEA support, but has remained stable since then. Hebrew has had a steady and relatively high growth rate related to the religious tradition rather than its foreign associations (Lambert, p. 157). Lambert's second tier consists of the five primary uncommonly taught languages: Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, Arabic, and Swahili, already established (except for Swahili) with enrollments of several hundred in 1958 increased to several thousand in 1970 with some secondary school enrollment[2] (Lambert, pp. 157-58). Lambert's third group is "ethnic languages," spoken by sizeable American minorities; enrollment in these rose at the beginning of the NDEA program, then remained constant or dropped slightly. Most are East European languages, such as Polish, Czech, Hungarian, and Modern Greek. The final group called "NDEA 'babies'" by Lambert, taught rarely if ever in 1958, now have small and fluctuating enrollments almost exclusively at NDEA centers. Included in this group are all the major languages of South Asia, Southeast Asia, and Africa as well as the secondary languages of every world area (Lambert, p. 158). Lambert concludes that (with the exception of East Europe and Latin America) the different rates of enrollment change reflect student interest in the area where the language is used, though we know little of what prompts the initial interest in the area (Lambert, pp. 159-60).

The statistics and studies cited above indicate the impact of government funding not only in expanding, but often in instigating instruction in the uncommonly taught languages. They also show that few students pursue most uncommonly taught languages. These observations give rise to two inferences to be discussed later: first, that student enrollment must be maintained or preferably increased if we are to keep a pool of linguistically competent specialists; and second, that continuation of anything resembling present levels probably depends upon continued federal funding.

1/ The specific role of NDEA is documented in Lambert, pp. 149-60 and sources cited therein: Donald N. Bigelow and Lyman Letgers, NDEA, Language and Area Studies: A Report on the First Five Years, Washington, D. C.: U.S.G.P.O., 1964; Stanley Wilcox, Maxwell Flappan, and Susanna C. Easton, "Language and Area Centers: Ten Years of NDEA," (mimeo) Institute of International Studies, U.S. Office of Education, April, 1968; Stanley Wilcox, "The National Defense Education Act of 1958 and Language and Area Studies," (mimeo), Division of Foreign Studies, Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare, February, 1971.

2/ The location of these secondary schools suggests a correlation with the presence of ethnic groups speaking these languages. See section 4.5.1.

TABLE 4.2

TOTAL ENROLLMENTS IN SELECTED LANGUAGES ACCORDING TO MLA SURVEYS

LANGUAGE	ALL COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES					SECONDARY SCHOOLS 1968
	1958	1963	1965	1968	1970	
Spanish						
Number enrolled	125,503	246,673	310,340	364,870	389,150	2,113,004
Annual % change	—	+19.3	+12.9	+5.9	+3.4	
Portuguese						
Number enrolled	596	2,448	3,040	4,048	5,064	815
Annual % change	—	+62.1	+12.1	+11.1	+12.6	
Quechua						
Number enrolled	—	5	8	6	22	—
Annual % change	—	—	+150.0	−8.3	+133.7	
Total Latin American						
Number enrolled	*126,099*	*249,126*	*313,388*	*368,924*	*394,236*	*2,113,819*
Annual % change	—	*+19.5*	*+12.9*	*+5.9*	*+3.5*	
Russian						
Number enrolled	16,214	33,538	33,710	40,696	36,189	28,604
Annual % change	—	+21.4	+0.3	+6.9	−5.6	
Polish						
Number enrolled	309	708	607	656	734	462
Annual % change	—	+25.8	−7.2	+2.7	+5.9	
Czech						
Number enrolled	42	100	158	182	154	182
Annual % change	—	+27.6	+29.0	+5.1	−7.7	
Serbo-Croatian						
Number enrolled	36	131	134	209	349	—
Annual % change	—	+52.8	+1.2	+18.7	+33.5	
Bulgarian						
Number enrolled	9	30	8	7	17	—
Annual % change	—	+46.7	−36.7	−4.2	+71.4	
Modern Greek						
Number enrolled	128	440	217	146	229	30
Annual % change	—	+48.8	−25.3	−10.9	+28.4	
Albanian						
Number enrolled	1	4	2	—	2	—
Annual % change	—	+50.0	−25.0	−33.3	—	
Hungarian						
Number enrolled	18	103	74	65	81	643
Annual % change	—	+94.4	−13.7	−4.1	+12.3	
Estonian						
Number enrolled	—	4	1	5	4	—
Annual % change	—	—	−37.5	+133.3	−10.0	
Rumanian						
Number enrolled	—	16	—	20	15	—
Annual % change	—	—	−50.0	—	+17.5	
Total East European						
Number enrolled	*16,757*	*35,074*	*34,911*	*41,986*	*37,774*	*29,921*
Annual % change	—	*+21.9*	*−0.2*	*+6.8*	*−5.0*	
Arabic						
Number enrolled	371	835	930	1,100	1,333	69
Annual % change	—	+25.0	+5.7	+6.1	+10.6	
Persian						
Number enrolled	23	129	113	194	246	—
Annual % change	—	+92.2	−6.2	+23.9	+13.4	
Turkish						
Number enrolled	36	105	92	119	101	—
Annual % change	—	+38.3	−6.2	+9.8	−7.6	
Hebrew						
Number enrolled	3,017	5,347	8,093	10,169	16,576	4,491
Annual % change	—	+15.4	+25.7	+8.6	+31.5	
Armenian						
Number enrolled	35	60	37	31	42	—
Annual % change	—	+14.3	−19.2	−5.4	+17.7	

TABLE 4.2 - Continued

LANGUAGE	ALL COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES					SECONDARY SCHOOLS 1968
	1958	1963	1965	1968	1970	
Total Middle Eastern						
Number enrolled	*3,482*	*6,476*	*9,265*	*11,613*	*18,298*	*4,560*
Annual % change	—	*+17.2*	*+21.6*	*+8.4*	*+28.8*	
Berber						
Number enrolled	—	—	7	1	2	—
Annual % change	—	—	—	−28.6	+50.0	
Amharic						
Number enrolled	—	4	13	7	5	—
Annual % change	—	—	+87.5	−15.4	−14.3	
Hausa						
Number enrolled	—	23	23	62	110	—
Annual % change	—	—	0.0	+56.5	+38.7	
Swahili						
Number enrolled	4	112	130	608	1,791	534
Annual % change	—	+540.0	+8.0	+122.5	+97.3	
Xhosa						
Number enrolled	—	—	5	10	4	248
Annual % change	—	—	—	+33.3	−30.0	
Akan						
Number enrolled	—	3	3	1	7	—
Annual % change	—	—	0.0	−22.2	+300.0	
Ibo						
Number enrolled	—	—	—	34	13	—
Annual % change	—	—	—	—	−30.9	
Yoruba						
Number enrolled	3	14	17	24	117	—
Annual % change	—	+73.3	+10.7	+13.7	+193.8	
Other Modern African Lang.						
Number enrolled	—	5	8	24	34	93
Annual % change	—	—	+30.0	+66.7	+20.8	
Total African						
Number enrolled	*7*	*161*	*203*	*974*	*2,083*	*875*
Annual % change	—	*+440.0*	*+13.0*	*+126.6*	*+56.9*	
Hindi/Urdu						
Number enrolled	14	253	266	368	377	—
Annual % change	—	+341.4	+2.6	+12.8	+1.2	
Bengali						
Number enrolled	—	20	18	18	14	—
Annual % change	—	—	−5.0	0.0	−11.1	
Sinhalese						
Number enrolled	—	2	1	2	—	—
Annual % change	—	—	−25.0	+33.3	−50.0	
Marathi						
Number enrolled	—	4	1	1	1	—
Annual % change	—	—	−37.5	0.0	0.0	
Tamil						
Number enrolled	—	14	38	23	29	—
Annual % change	—	—	+8.6	−13.1	+13.0	
Telegu						
Number enrolled	—	15	5	7	7	—
Annual % change	—	—	−33.3	+13.3	0.0	
Malayalam						
Number enrolled	—	1	1	2	—	—
Annual % change	—	—	0.0	+33.3	−50.0	
Kannada						
Number enrolled	—	1	3	1	—	—
Annual % change	—	—	+100.0	−22.2	−50.0	
Total South Asian						
Number enrolled	*14*	*310*	*333*	*442*	*528*	—
Annual % change	—	*+422.9*	*+3.7*	*+10.9*	*+9.7*	

TABLE 4.2 - continued

LANGUAGE	ALL COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES					SECONDARY SCHOOLS
	1958	1963	1965	1968	1970	1968
Thai						
Number enrolled	3	34	58	71	67	—
Annual % change	—	+206.7	+35.3	+7.5	−2.8	
Burmese						
Number enrolled	—	6	0	0	5	—
Annual % change	—	—	−50.0	0.0	—	
Vietnamese						
Number enrolled	—	11	20	19	18	—
Annual % change	—	—	+40.9	−1.7	−2.6	
Indonesian/Malay						
Number enrolled	12	63	66	100	109	—
Annual % change	—	+68.4	+2.4	+17.2	+4.5	
Javanese						
Number enrolled	—	1	2	3	6	—
Annual % change	—	—	+50.0	+16.7	+50.0	
Tagalog						
Number enrolled	1	14	28	14	9	—
Annual % change	—	+260.0	+50.0	−16.7	−17.9	
Visayan						
Number enrolled	—	—	—	1	0	—
Annual % change	—	—	—	—	−50.0	
Total Southeast Asian						
Number enrolled	*16*	*129*	*174*	*208*	*214*	—
Annual % change	—	*+141.2*	*+17.4*	*+6.5*	*+1.4*	
Chinese						
Number enrolled	585	2,444	3,359	5,061	6,238	2,096
Annual % change	—	+63.6	+18.7	+16.9	+11.6	
Japanese						
Number enrolled	837	2,813	3,443	4,324	6,620	4,824
Annual % change	—	+47.2	+11.2	+8.5	+26.6	
Tibetan						
Number enrolled	6	33	30	53	59	—
Annual % change	—	+90.0	−4.5	+25.6	+5.7	
Korean						
Number enrolled	26	69	82	70	101	—
Annual % change	—	+33.1	+9.4	−3.3	+22.1	
Mongolian						
Number enrolled	6	42	21	21	20	—
Annual % change	—	+120.0	−25.0	0.0	−2.4	
Total East Asian						
Number enrolled	*1,466*	*5,338*	*6,965*	*9,696*	*12,957*	*6,920*
Annual % change	—	*+52.7*	*+15.4*	*+13.0*	*+17.2*	
All languages						
Number enrolled	147,841	296,614	365,239	433,843	466,090	2,156,095
Annual % change	—	+20.1	+11.6	+6.3	+3.7	
All languages except Spanish, Russian, Hebrew						
Number enrolled	3,107	11,056	13,096	18,108	24,175	9,996
Annual % change	—	+51.2	+6.2	+12.8	+16.8	

SOURCE: Richard I. Brod, "Survey of Foreign Language Course Registrations in Institutions of Higher Education, Fall 1970 and Summer 1971," *Bulletin of the Association for Departments of Foreign Language*, vol. 3 (December, 1971), pp. 46-50.

Source: Richard D. Lambert, Language and Area Studies Review, Table 5.1, 1973.

4.1.1.2 Specialists

One of the rationales for the development of area studies in American universities was to remedy a perceived shortage of expert manpower (Lambert, p. 312). Language by language, it is not known how many specialists there were in the fifties, or how many there are now. Our research has revealed no statistical documentation of a shortage of uncommonly taught language specialists. Academic and government officials believed on the basis of experience, however that a shortage existed, and available data suggest that few specialists in uncommonly taught languages would have been available. Records of linguistics degrees conferred (see section 3.1.3) indicate that the total number of linguists in the fifties was probably well under one thousand; the number with expertise in uncommonly taught languages must have been much smaller. The Lambert survey turned up only six graduate linguistics degrees related to some world area over the two year period 1957 to 1959. In the same period only 43 graduate degrees were awarded in area-related language and literature, including Latin American and East European studies (see Table 4.3). Since then the number of both linguistics and language and literature specialists has increased dramatically, as illustrated in Tables 4.3 and 4.4. The number of linguistics graduates found by the Lambert area studies review increased over eight-fold, from 6 to 52, between the late fifties and the late sixties, and the total number of graduating language specialists increased five-fold, from 49 to 256 (see Table 4.3). Information from the Doctorate Records File is of limited utility, since graduates appear in mutually exclusive categories; i.e., specialists in uncommonly taught languages may appear as linguistics, language, anthropology, or possibly other majors. DRF statistics support Lambert's findings, however: only a handful of PhD's majored in languages other than the commonly taught in 1963 and 1964 (15 and 13 respectively), but the number rose to 24 in 1965, 28 in 1967, 70 in 1969, 85 in 1971, and 99 in 1972. Lambert also found that the percentage of language-related majors among area studies graduates increased by three percentage points, from 15% to 18%, in the ten-year period covered (see Table 4.3). The NDFL graduate fellowship program must have been significant in this development; fifty percent of the Doctorate Records File respondents identifying themselves as majors in "other" languages reported receipt of NDEA fellowships.

Although statistics by individual language are unavailable, the Lambert study published statistics classified by world area which show that representation in most increased proportionately (see Table 4.5). Thus many new language specialists are in Latin American and East European studies. The number of graduating language specialists in other world areas increased sharply, but remained small in absolute numbers. Lambert's estimate of the current number of language specialists for each world area appears in the first three rows under each subheading in Table 4.4 and in Table 4.5. Lambert estimates, as the latter table shows, that among 12,685 language and area specialists about 1800 are language specialists of whom about 1500 read, write or speak their language easily. About 1300 students are training to be language specialists, a figure which suggests that the large increases of the late 1960's will continue well into the seventies.

Table 4.3. Disciplinary Distribution of Specialist and Student Samples, Lambert Survey, 1970.

	Specialists		1957-59 Graduates		1967-69 Graduates		Current Students	
Discipline	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Lang/lit	565	10.1	43	13.2	194	14.2	474	15.7
Linguistics	227	4.0	6	1.8	52	3.8	112	3.7
Lang rel'd	792	14.1	49	15.0	246	18.0	586	19.4
Humanities	315	5.5	6	1.8	36	2.6	99	3.3
Historical	1508	26.9	63	19.4	233	17.0	864	28.7
Soc sciences	2229	39.7	166	51.1	558	40.8	982	32.6
Education	156	2.8	10	3.1	29	2.1	78	2.6
Applied/prof	206	3.7	16	4.9	52	3.8	47	1.6
Gen area studies	204	3.6	15	4.7	209	15.4	307	10.2
Nondisciplinary	208	3.7	-	-	4	0.3	51	1.6
TOTAL	5618	100.0	325	100.0	1367	100.0	3014	100.0

Source: Lambert, Table 8.9, pp. 327-28.

Table 4.4. Estimated Language and Area Specialists, Courses and Students by World Area and Discipline, 1971.

World Area/ discipline	All Spec	Read write or speak easily	Curr spec stu's	Spec PhD's 1957-59	Spec PhD's 1967-69	Spec MA's 1957-59	Spec MA's 1967-69	Area courses[a]	Under grad enroll	Grad area enroll
Latin America										
Lang/lit	234	223	211	9	31	14	48	749	7,230	6,603
Linguistics	58	56	40	-	7	-	4	35	1,335	257
Lang rel'd	292	279	251	9	38	14	52	784	8,565	6,860
Humanities	29	25	25	1	1	-	7	76	820	479
Historical	527	485	386	9	32	12	35	415	8,323	4,289
Soc Sci's	1050	915	776	14	100	17	108	779	15,074	7,704
App/prof	194	156	121	4	32	7	16	144	878	2,320
Gen area	96	89	243	-	-	5	121	77	260	661
TOTAL	2188	1950	1802	37	203	55	339	2275	33,920	22,313
East Europe										
Lang/lit	448	434	386	10	30	3	39	730	7,221	3,635
Linguistics	56	56	73	2	2	-	2	143	192	744
Lang rel'd	504	490	459	12	32	3	41	873	7,413	4,379
Humanities	36	29	10	-	1	-	1	47	1,252	178
Historical	818	640	435	4	21	2	27	396	10,152	2,961
Soc sci's	630	463	222	8	20	13	30	499	9,669	4,262
App/prof	96	80	20	1	1	-	3	23	37	423
Gen area	134	105	59	-	-	1	7	51	366	258
TOTAL	2218	1807	1205	25	75	19	109	1889	28,889	12,461
Middle East										
Lang/lit	195	143	106	4	8	1	11	333	1,954	1,127
Linguistics	112	70	20	1	2	-	6	39	39	232
Lang rel'd	307	213	136	5	10	1	17	372	1,993	1,359
Humanities	154	96	23	-	3	-	4	177	5,717	894
Historical	431	236	145	7	11	8	15	338	7,707	2,107
Soc sci's	448	203	154	10	28	20	25	287	5,964	1,706
App/prof	95	40	10	1	-	2	2	18	259	134
Gen area	227	143	117	-	1	3	10	65	270	259
TOTAL	1662	931	575	23	53	34	73	1257	21,910	6,459

Source: Lambert, Table 9.3, pp. 375-84.

a/ Excludes first three years of language instruction.

Table 4.4. Estimated Language and Area Specialists, Courses and Students by World Area and Discipline, 1971 (Cont'd)

World area/ discipline	All spec	Read write or speak easily	Curr spec stu's	Spec PhD's 1957-59	Spec PhD's 1967-69	Spec MA's 1957-59	Spec MA's 1967-69	Area courses[a]	Under grad enroll	Grad area enroll
Africa										
Lang/lit	61	18	34	-	-	-	-	49	564	247
Linguistics	82	59	52	-	9	-	1	22	81	131
Lang rel'd	143	77	86	-	9	-	1	71	645	378
Humanities	50	11	37	1	-	-	3	53	1,322	431
Historical	344	33	252	3	18	1	23	111	2,833	1,046
Soc sci's	994	179	537	8	46	15	39	308	11,937	3,078
App/prof	140	16	98	1	8	1	1	37	96	380
Gen area	84	5	34	-	-	-	10	10	46	102
TOTAL	1755	321	1044	13	81	17	77	590	16,879	5,415
South Asia										
Lang/lit	53	42	34	-	3	-	3	52	621	145
Linguistics	81	62	18	1	-	-	2	15	21	55
Lang rel'd	134	104	52	1	3	-	5	67	642	200
Humanities	149	49	64	1	4	1	4	125	4,482	633
Historical	198	62	93	3	7	4	5	122	1,965	587
Soc sci's	460	114	196	12	26	5	23	286	6,135	2,365
App/prof	36	10	12	3	11	4	-	18	71	95
Gen area	82	39	71	-	-	4	17	21	825	100
TOTAL	1059	378	488	20	51	18	54	639	14,120	3,980
Southeast Asia										
Lang/lit	7	2	2	-	-	-	-	26	89	66
Linguistics	28	11	27	2	3	-	2	18	11	126
Lang rel'd	35	13	29	2	3	-	2	44	100	192
Humanities	27	4	8	-	1	-	-	83	2,328	443
Historical	87	17	68	1	4	5	2	82	1,991	807
Soc sci's	387	77	175	5	20	21	41	146	3,901	1,227
App/prof	67	10	20	2	1	-	2	18	47	152
Gen area	56	11	33	-	2	-	15	67	397	311
TOTAL	659	132	333	10	31	26	62	440	8,764	3,132

Table 4.4. Estimated Language and Area Specialists, Courses and Students by World Area and Discipline, 1971 (Cont'd, 3).

Worl- area/ discipline	All spec	Read write or speak easily	Curr spec stu's	Spec PhD's 1957-59	Spec PhD's 1967-69	Spec MA's 1957-59	Spec MA's 1967-69	Area courses[a]	Under grad enroll	Grad area enroll
East Asia										
Lang/lit	314	258	292	1	17	1	13	386	3,707	1,379
Linguistics	89	80	28	-	-	-	2	84	333	426
Lang rel'd	403	338	319	1	17	1	15	470	4,040	1,805
Humanities	253	156	62	2	4	-	3	284	6,564	1,517
Historical	1072	616	628	6	14	-	20	504	14,686	3,361
Soc sci's	975	581	297	8	29	8	17	433	11,219	3,827
App/prof	186	97	50	-	4	-	-	21	162	433
Gen area	255	122	274	-	3	2	27	88	627	440
TOTAL	3144	1910	1730	17	71	11	82	1800	37,816	11,483

Table 4.5. Estimated Language Specialists, Graduates, and Current Students, by World Area, 1971.

	Language Specialists		Read, write or speak easily		1957-59 grads		1967-69 grads		Current students	
World area	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	
Latin America	292	16.1	279	18.4	23	46.9	90	36.7	251	18.8
East Europe	504	27.7	490	32.4	15	30.6	73	29.8	459	34.5
Middle East	307	16.9	213	14.1	6	12.2	27	11.0	136	10.2
Africa	143	7.9	77	5.1	-	-	10	4.1	86	6.5
South Asia	134	7.4	104	6.9	1	2.0	8	3.3	52	3.9
Southeast Asia	35	1.9	13	0.9	2	4.1	5	2.0	29	2.2
East Asia	403	22.2	338	22.3	2	4.1	32	13.1	319	23.9
TOTAL	1818	100.1	1514	100.1	49	99.1	245	100.0	1332	100.0

Source: Lambert, Table 9.3, pp. 375-84.

The percentage of language specialists among area specialists appears to be increasing. Currently 14.1% of all area specialists are in language-related disciplines, but the percentage of language specialists among graduating area specialists increased from 15.0% to 18.0% in the first ten years of the NDEA program, and the percentage may increase further, since 19.4% of the students surveyed by Lambert were language specialists (see Table 4.3).

4.1.2 Specialists: Employer Type

The little information available on the employer types of specialists in uncommonly taught languages indicates that most work in universities. Although language specialists were only 14.1% of the area specialists surveyed by Lambert, they constituted 29.9% of the faculty in the 203 area centers applying for NDFL funding (see Table 4.6). These statistics indicate that language specialists are concentrated not only in academic positions, but in area centers, and to a greater extent than specialists in other disciplines. Table 4.6 also shows that this concentration is not new, since 32.5% of the area program faculty in a 1951 survey consisted of language specialists. The secondary school enrollments recorded in Table 4.1, since they are low and scattered, would provide little employment for language specialists. Lambert's sample of 203 area programs included no two-year colleges and only 16 four year colleges, suggesting that few language specialists are employed in these institutions (Lambert, pp. 227-28). Of the area specialists surveyed by Lambert, 22.4% were employed non-academically. No breakdown by discipline is given, however (Lambert, p. 37), and the high concentration of language specialists in area centers means fewer would be working elsewhere. The number employed in government, business, research organizations, and libraries, is therefore unknown.

4.1.3 Specialists: World Area

Despite recent progress, a breakdown of the 1800 estimated language specialists by world area shows that for all but a few languages, experts are few. Tables 4.5 and 4.7 show the distribution of specialists estimated and those surveyed. One sixth of the estimated language specialists are in Latin American studies, predominantly Spanish, and over one-fourth are in East European studies, many probably Russian specialists. Only one thousand remain in all the languages of the Middle East, Africa, South Asia, Southeast Asia, and East Asia. Moreover, their average competence level appears to vary with the number of specialists. While almost all the East European and Latin American language specialists read, write or speak their language easily, only three quarters of the specialists in languages of other areas meet this standard. For certain areas the situation is even worse. Lambert estimates 312 language specialists for all Africa, South Asia, and Southeast Asia, only two-thirds of whom are fluent. The areas with the fewest language specialists also have the lowest ratio of language to all specialists in that area, as Table 4.5 illustrates. For example, in African studies there are only 143 estimated language specialists, 77 of them fluent; among Africanists surveyed, only 12.7% were language specialists. Put differently, not only are fewer language specialists Africanists, but fewer Africanists are language specialists. In Southeast Asian languages Lambert estimates only 35 specialists altogether, 13 of them fluent; a mere 5.2% of Southeast Asian scholars surveyed were language specialists. Contrast East Europe with

Table 4.6. Discipline Distribution of Lambert Survey Specialists, NDFL Applicant Program Faculty, and Bennett Survey Faculty[a].

Discipline	Specialists		NDFL App Program Faculty		Bennett Survey Faculty	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Lang/literature	565	10.1	822	21.3	97	25.9
Linguistics	227	4.0	335	8.7	25	6.7
Lang related	792	14.1	1157	29.9	122	32.5
Humanities	315	5.6	278	7.2	16	4.3
Historical	1508	26.8	623	16.1	81	21.6
Social sciences	2229	39.7	1188	30.7	149	39.7
Education	156	2.8	77	2.0	-	-
Applied/profess	206	3.7	126	3.3	7	1.9
Gen area studies	204	3.6	353	9.1	-	-
Nondisciplinary	208	3.7	63	1.6	-	-
TOTAL	5618	100.0	3865	100.0	375	100.0

Source: Lambert, Table 3.43, pp. 106-07.

a/ Wendell Bennett, Area Studies in American Universities (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1951), p. 12, as cited by Lambert.

Table 4.7. Discipline of Lambert Survey Specialists, by World Area.

Discipline	Latin America		East Europe		Middle East		Africa		South Asia	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Lang/lit	105	10.7	191	20.2	83	11.7	24	3.5	28	5.0
Linguistics	26	2.6	24	2.5	48	6.8	32	4.6	43	7.7
Lang-rel'd	131	13.3	215	22.7	131	18.4	56	8.1	71	12.7
Humanities	13	1.3	15	1.6	66	9.3	20	2.9	79	14.1
Historical	237	24.1	349	36.9	184	25.9	135	19.6	105	18.8
Soc. sci's	472	48.0	269	28.4	192	27.0	390	56.6	243	43.4
Education	26	2.6	14	1.5	16	2.3	24	3.5	11	2.0
App/prof	61	6.2	27	2.9	25	3.5	31	4.5	8	1.4
Gen area	16	1.6	29	3.1	73	10.3	5	0.7	26	4.6
Nondisci.	27	2.9	28	3.0	24	3.4	28	4.1	17	2.9
TOTAL	983	100.0	946	100.0	711	100.0	689	100.0	560	100.0

	Southeast Asia		East Asia		Oceania		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Lang/lit	4	1.0	130	10.0	-	-	565	10.1
Linguistics	17	4.2	37	2.8	-	-	227	4.0
Lang-rel'd	21	5.2	167	12.8	-	-	792	14.1
Humanities	17	4.2	105	8.1	-	-	315	54.6
Historical	53	13.2	444	34.1	1	4.2	1508	26.8
Soc sci's	237	58.8	404	31.0	22	91.7	2229	39.7
Education	23	5.6	41	3.1	1	4.2	156	2.8
App/prof	18	4.5	36	2.8	-	-	206	3.7
Gen area	10	2.5	45	3.4	-	-	204	3.6
Nondisci.	24	6.0	60	4.7	-	-	208	3.7
TOTAL	403	100.0	1302	100.0	24	100.0	5618	100.0

Source: Lambert, Table 3.44, pp. 109-10.

over 500 estimated language specialists, almost all able to read, write or speak their language easily, where language scholars constituted 22.7% of the area specialists surveyed. The enrollment figures shown in Table 4.8 indicate that this situation will continue unchanged: the number of currently specializing students and enrollments in the languages of each area are roughly proportionate to the number of specialists.

4.1.4 Courses and Enrollments: World Area

Tables 4.8, 4.9 and 4.10 show the distribution of area courses and enrollments by discipline and world area. While language specialists constitute 29.9% of the faculty at NDFL applicant programs, language courses constitute a total of 41.2% of the courses offered. If the first three years of language instruction are excluded 30.2% of the courses are still language related. The latter, however, account for only 16.6% of the total enrollment in all area-related courses: 23.2% of the graduate and 13.9% of the undergraduate enrollment. The advanced-level courses, then, are considerably smaller than most other area courses. An analysis of course offerings by world area shows the same imbalanced pattern as the distribution of specialists. (See Table 4.10.) With all levels of instruction included, over sixty percent of area-related courses in East European and East Asian studies and half those in Middle Eastern and Latin American area studies are language courses, contrasted with 40% in Southeast Asia, 37% in African, and 35% in South Asian area studies programs. With basic courses excluded, the imbalances become glaring. Instruction beyond the third year is rare in African and Southeast Asian languages, and infrequent in Middle Eastern and East Asian languages. (Table 4.11 shows the ratio of advanced to all language courses.) Moreover, more detailed statistics compiled by Lambert indicate that if the primary languages of each region were excluded (e.g., Arabic and Hebrew for the Middle East, Chinese and Japanese for East Asia), the proportion of advanced instruction would be much lower.

4.2 Linguists and Linguistics in Language and Area Studies

4.2.1 Historical Background

Linguists have played a special role in the teaching of uncommonly taught languages in this country. As Lambert describes it, World War II brought a sudden need for materials in many uncommonly taught languages, a need filled largely by linguists. With linguists came the oral-aural teaching style, which stressed "functional skills" taught by a team of linguist and native informant (Lambert, pp. 190-91.[1] The trend continued with the commencement

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1/ The pedagogical results of this development are of interest to this study only indirectly (see Section 4.4). For discussion, see Lambert, pp. 190-202, and Richard T. Thompson, "The Uncommonly Taught Languages," The Britannica Review of Foreign Languages, vol. 3 (1970). pp. 279-302.

Table 4.8. Disciplinary Distribution of NDFL Applicant Program Courses, Enrollments, and Current Specialist Students, 1968-70.

Discipline	Courses		Undergrad. enrollment		Graduate enrollment		Total enrollment		Specialist students	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Lang/lit[a]	2325	26.2	21,386	13.2	13,202	20.2	34,588	15.2	474	15.7
Linguistics	356	4.0	1,176	0.7	1,956	3.0	3,132	1.4	112	3.7
Lang-rel'd	2681	30.2	22,562	13.9	15,158	23.2	37,720	16.6	586	19.4
Humanities	845	9.5	22,475	13.8	4,599	7.0	27,074	11.9	99	3.3
Historical	1968	22.1	47,659	29.4	15,158	23.2	62,817	27.6	864	28.7
Soc sci's	2738	30.8	63,899	39.4	24,270	37.2	88,169	38.7	982	32.6
Education	130	1.5	477	0.3	1,551	2.4	2,028	0.9	78	2.6
App/prof	151	1.7	1,173	0.7	2,486	3.8	3,659	1.6	47	1.6
Gen area	320	3.6	3,077	1.9	1,681	2.6	4,758	2.1	307	10.2
Nondisci.	57	0.6	976	0.6	340	0.5	1,316	0.6	51	1.6
TOTAL	8890	100.0	162,298	100.0	65,243	100.0	227,541	100.0	3014	100.0

Source: Lambert, Table 4.2, pp. 122-23.

a/ Does not include the first three years of language instruction, 3739 additional courses; if they are included, language-related courses constitute 41.2% of the total of 12,629 area courses (Lambert, p. 124).

Table 4.9. Number and Percent of NDFL Applicant Program Courses by Discipline and World Area, 1968-70.

Discipline	Latin America		East Europe		Middle East		Africa	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Literature	749	32.9	730	38.6	333	26.5	49	8.3
Linguistics	35	1.5	143	7.6	39	3.1	22	3.7
Lang-rel'd[a]	784	34.5	873	46.2	372	29.6	71	12.0
Humanities	76	3.3	47	2.5	177	14.1	53	9.0
Historical	415	18.2	396	21.0	338	26.9	111	18.8
Soc sci's	779	34.2	499	26.4	287	22.8	308	52.2
Education	55	2.4	10	0.5	5	0.4	25	4.2
App/prof	89	3.9	14	0.7	13	1.0	12	2.0
Nondisci.	77	3.4	50	2.6	65	5.2	10	1.7
TOTAL	2275	99.9	1889	99.9	1252	100.0	590	99.9

	South Asia		Southeast Asia		East Asia		All Areas	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Literature	52	8.1	26	5.9	386	21.4	2325	26.2
Linguistics	15	2.3	18	4.1	84	4.7	356	4.0
Lang-rel'd[a]	67	10.5	44	10.0	470	26.1	2681	30.2
Humanities	125	19.6	83	18.9	284	15.8	845	9.5
Historical	122	19.1	82	18.6	504	28.0	1968	22.1
Soc sci's	286	44.8	146	33.2	433	24.1	2738	30.8
Education	11	1.7	13	3.0	11	0.6	130	1.5
App/prof	7	1.1	5	1.1	11	0.6	151	1.7
Nondisci.	21	3.3	67	15.2	87	4.8	377	4.2
TOTAL	639	100.1	440	100.0	1800	100.0	8890	100.0

Source: Lambert, Table 4.3, pp. 126-27.

a/ Does not include the first three years of language instruction.

Table 4.10. Language as Percent of All NDFL Applicant Program Courses, by World Area, 1968-70.

World Area	Percentage
Latin America	49.1
East Europe	66.0
Middle East	52.3
Africa	37.3
South Asia	34.5
Southeast Asia	40.5
East Asia	60.7
ALL	41.2

Source: Lambert, pp. 125, 128.

Table 4.11. Advanced as Percent of All Language-Related Courses in NDFL Applicant Programs, 1968-70.

World Area	Percentage
Latin America	41.0
East Europe	30.3
Middle East	18.9
Africa	6.4
South Asia	27.0
Southeast Asia	3.4
East Asia	21.7

Source: Lambert, Table 4.4, p. 128.

Note: Advanced are language courses beyond the third year, literature, and linguistics courses.

of the NDEA program in 1958 and the establishment of the Peace Corps in the early sixties. Relatively few linguists were then available (section 3.1 gives some indication of their numbers), and many were pressed into teaching and materials preparation in uncommonly taught languages.

The situations which linguists and linguistics methods entered differed. The study of certain languages was already established in American universities. East European languages were taught in traditionally oriented language and literature departments (Lambert, p. 190), as were the classical languages of East Asia, the Middle East, and South Asia in the Orientalist and Hebraic tradition, a mix of language, literature, and history (Lambert, pp. 128-29). Some linguists, particularly older ones, were trained in this tradition. Most were not, however, and the outcome is the co-existence today of both linguists and traditionally oriented language and literature scholars in certain fields, notably East European, Middle Eastern, and Far Eastern languages. Other languages were rarely studied by Americans before the Second World War or even 1958; in these fields linguists now predominate.

4.2.2 Estimated Numbers of Specialist-Linguists

The LSA Membership Survey indicates with reasonable accuracy the total number of linguists specializing in uncommonly taught languages. The sample was too small to provide guidance vis a vis particular languages or even language groups, however. The Lambert study separates linguists out at the level of world areas, and forms the basis for most of our discussion. Lambert estimates that altogether about 500 linguists are involved in area studies (see Table 4.12). LSA statistics on areas of specialization (shown in Table 2.17 and adjusted for overlap) show that about 29% of the linguistics work force (or 870 linguists) specialize in uncommonly taught languages; if North American Indian and West European (i.e., non-area studies) languages are excluded the figure is 21% or about 630. One third of the research topics reported by working linguists (see Table 2.20) involved uncommonly taught languages including North American Indian and West European; when the latter are excluded the figure is one-fourth. Lambert's figures may be expected to differ from the LSA's for several reasons. First, as noted above, some uncommonly taught languages do not fall under the rubric of language and area studies. Second, Lambert's disciplinary classifications are based upon the respondent's self-identification, while the LSA study included as linguists some persons who identified themselves as language specialists. Both these factors would render Lambert's statistics on linguistics lower than the LSA's. Third, Lambert's data included Spanish and Russian, insofar as they were associated with Latin American and East European area studies; most linguists in these areas work in commonly, rather than uncommonly taught languages. Finally, the LSA statistics were compiled two years after Lambert's and therefore include two years' graduates who have joined the work force. When the effects of the first three factors are estimated and Lambert's statistics adjusted accordingly, we find, as of 1971, about 600 linguists in

Table 4.12. Estimated Linguists, Linguistics Graduates and Current Linguistics Students Associated with Area Studies, by World Area, 1971.

World area	Linguists		Read, write or speak easily		1957-59 grads	1967-69 grads		Current students	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	No.	%	No.	%
Latin America	58	11.5	56	14.2	–	11	26.2	40	15.5
East Europe	56	11.1	56	14.2	2	4	9.5	73	28.3
Middle East	112	22.1	70	17.8	1	8	19.0	20	7.8
Africa	82	16.2	59	15.0	–	10	23.8	52	20.2
South Asia	81	16.0	62	15.7	1	2	4.8	18	7.0
Southeast Asia	28	5.5	11	2.8	2	5	11.9	27	10.5
East Asia	89	17.6	80	20.3	–	2	4.8	28	10.9
TOTAL	506	100.0	394	100.0	6	42	100.2	258	100.2

Source: Lambert, Table 9.3, pp. 375-84.

uncommonly taught languages, a number corroborated by the LSA's figure of 630 in 1973.[1]

Although the number of available linguists per language is unknown,[2] Lambert has estimated the number active in the study of each world area as well as the number thought to read, write or speak an area language easily.[3] In the

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1/ The number 630 is adjusted for the first factor, since it is based upon data excluding non-area studies languages. We adjusted the Lambert figure for the second and third factors as follows: Lambert's exact estimate is 506, of whom 114 are in Latin American and East European studies. We assumed on the basis of an educated guess that three-quarters, or 86, of the latter worked exclusively in Spanish or Russian, and subtracted that number, leaving 420 linguists in uncommonly taught languages. The latter figure accounts only for those who identify themselves as linguists. Among respondents to the LSA Membership Survey, 199 reported a specialty in a foreign language; 57, or 29% of these identified themselves as foreign language specialists rather than linguists. The comparable figure based upon Lambert's estimates is 592 (derived from the equation $x = 420 + .29x$), which, given the two-year difference coincides almost exactly with the LSA estimate (cf. Table 4.13).

2/ Statistics by language appear in Tables 2.17 and 2.20, but the samples on which they are based are too small to permit their being considered representative at this level of detail. This conclusion is supported by the results obtained when the figures in these tables are classified by world area and extrapolated to the entire sample: they are completely at variance with Lambert's more comprehensive samples. Data on language specialization collected by the National Register of Scientific and Technical Personnel did not prove useful in this study. Although the figures published were limited to two languages per respondent, if they are to be believed, about 60% of all linguists possess some degree of skill in uncommonly taught languages.

3/ When Lambert's estimates of linguists per world area are adjusted in the same manner as his total estimate (see note 1 above), the results are:

World area	Est'd no of linguists	Read, write or speak lang easily
Middle East	158	99
Africa	115	83
South Asia	114	87
Southeast Asia	39	15
East Asia	125	112

We prefer not to base our discussion upon these figures, however, for two reasons: First, we assumed that if 29% of linguists specializing in any foreign language identified themselves as language specialists rather than linguists, the same was true of those specializing in uncommonly taught languages. Given the differences in the relationships between linguists and other language specialists in the different world areas, and our ignorance of the factors affecting professional identification, this assumption becomes too questionable to be used at this level. Second, at this level, the estimates cannot be checked against statistics obtained from an independent source such as the LSA Membership Survey.

first two areas listed in Table 4.12, Latin America and East Europe, the number of linguists working in languages outside Spanish and Russian is not known, and we shall not discuss them further except to point out that almost 100% are fluent in at least one language of their area. Among the remaining world areas, with the exception of Southeast Asia, linguists are much more evenly distributed than are language and literature specialists or language specialists as a group (see Tables 4.4 and 4.5). Lambert estimates 112 linguists in Middle Eastern languages, 80-90 each in Africa, South Asia, and East Asia, but only about 30 in Southeast Asia. Levels of linguistic competence vary widely, however: 90% of the linguists in East Asian studies read, write, or speak their language easily, compared with about 75% of African and South Asian area linguists, 62% in Middle Eastern languages, and only 40% of those working in Southeast Asian linguistics.

4.2.3 Ratio of Linguists and Language and Literature Specialists

The balance of linguists and language and literature specialists varies with world areas. As previously discussed, Lambert's estimates of linguists vs. language and literature specialists must be read with some caution, since some who identify themselves as the latter are probably linguists under the definition used in this study. With this caveat in mind, we may consider Table 4.6, which shows that linguists constitute 4.0% of area specialists generally, and 8.7% of those in NDFL applicant programs, and indicates that linguists are outnumbered two and one-half to one by language and literature scholars in both groups. In 1951, however, the ratio was 4-1. Differences by world area appear in Tables 4.7 and 4.13. According to the first, based upon disciplinary self- identification, in African, South Asian and Southeast Asian studies, linguists outnumber language and literature specialists, while in Latin American, East European, and East Asian languages, they constitute less than one-fifth the total language specialists and are in a two to one minority in Middle Eastern languages. Classification by program heads, reflected in Table 4.13, provides different results for some areas, notably South Asia (linguists a minority of 44% rather than a majority of 60%), East Europe (percentage of linguists 27% rather than 11%), and the Middle East (linguists only 24% compared with 37% of all language specialists). The source of these variations is unknown. The comparison indicates that although estimates of the total number of linguists in area studies and of the total number of language specialists in each area may be reliable, the breakdown by world area of linguists alone is apparently not.

4.2.4 Employer Type

Linguists as well as language specialists are concentrated, not only at academic institutions, but at those with area programs (see Table 4.6). Statistical data on the employer type of the others are so sparse that we have included them only in section 4.5.1, in order to avoid unnecessary repetition. Two particular non-academic institutions which sponsor linguistic work deserve more detailed discussion here, however, because of their extensive involvement with uncommonly taught languages.

Table 4.13. Percent of Linguists Among Language Faculties in NDFL Applicant Programs, 1968-70.

World Area	Percent of Linguists
Latin America	17.6
East Europe	27.5
Middle East	23.7
Africa	60.5
South Asia	43.6
Southeast Asia	69.2
East Asia	29.5
ALL	29.0

Source: Lambert, Table 5.12, p. 190.

The first is the Foreign Service Institute of the U. S. Department of State. When surveyed in 1973, the School of Language Studies employed 30 linguists working in both commonly and uncommonly taught languages at Washington and field schools. Twelve of them held a Ph.D., and eighteen did not. The three branch schools employed one linguist each for Japanese, Chinese, and Arabic, each school enrolling 10-20 language students. Twenty-seven linguists on the Washington staff supervised 100 instructors teaching 36 different uncommonly languages. (The range of this effort becomes more apparent when one considers that all 364 working linguists responding to the LSA Membership Survey reported specializing in 51 uncommonly taught languages and conducting research in 41.) Each linguist in Washington was supervising one to three languages. Over the last 15 years the School has produced basic and intermediate level materials in 60 languages; at the time of the survey, the staff was working on 19 projects in 14 different uncommonly taught languages. Languages taught at the FSI in three different time periods are listed in Appendix B. The Dean reported that specific languages taught varied from one time to another and that future changes were impossible to predict. A comparison of the three tables, however, shows that all the languages taught in fiscal 1968 appear in the 1972 and 1973 tables (except for Swahili, not listed in the last-mentioned), suggesting a stable core of languages of interest to the federal government.

The second non-academic institution working with many uncommonly taught languages is the Summer Institute of Linguistics, which as of 1973 sponsored the work of 900 American linguists (131 with advanced degrees) in approximately 550 languages. The SIL's linguistic work appears to be the complement of language and area studies concerns: minority group, unofficial, usually previously unwritten languages. For most, SIL members are likely the only American specialists and the source of the only materials in or about the language. Studies undertaken by SIL linguists include linguistic analyses, dictionaries, texts, alphabet design and literacy materials including some bilingual in the national language and the language under study. (Appendix C contains more detailed information about the SIL.)

4.2.5 Language and Linguistics Instruction

Linguists under discussion in this chapter are active in language teaching. According to the LSA Membership Survey, only 3.5% of academically employed respondents held appointments in departments of uncommonly taught languages--a total of a little under 100 linguists altogether when extrapolated to the entire estimated work force. On the other hand, of those reporting the subjects of their courses, 13.8% taught at least one course in an uncommonly taught language (not including courses in the linguistics of those languages). Application of this percentage to the total of 2450 linguists thought to be academically employed produces an estimate of 338 currently engaged in instruction in uncommonly taught languages in American universities.

Linguistics classes in uncommonly taught languages are quite small according to the enrollment statistics set forth in Table 4.8. Although linguistics courses are 4.0% of all area courses (not counting the first three years of language instruction), they account for only 1.4% of the total enrollment, 3.0% of all graduate, and 0.7% of all undergraduate area studies enrollment. Although linguists constituted 29% of the language faculty in programs in the sample, the ratio of all language to linguistics courses was 17-1, and with the first three years of language instruction excluded was 6 1/2-1 (see Table 4.8). As Table 4.9 shows, the percentage of linguistics courses varies widely among world areas, from a low of 1.5% in Latin American area courses to a high of 7.6% in East European courses. In absolute numbers, linguistics courses are few except in East European and Far Eastern languages. They are most infrequent in those areas where language instruction itself is weakest--Africa, South Asia, and Southeast Asia, and where the number of language specialists (linguists or not) is smallest.

4.3 The Supply of Linguists in the Uncommonly Taught Languages

Calculation of the supply of linguists specializing in uncommonly taught languages is founded upon two statistics: our estimate of 592 linguists involved in area studies in 1971, and Lambert's finding that in the late sixties 14.5% of all linguistics doctorates awarded were associated with language and area studies (Lambert, Table 8.10, p. 330). The first figure has been discussed in Section 4.2 above. The second seems low, compared with the 20% of the linguistics work force who reported a specialization in uncommonly taught languages, and the 20% of doctoral linguistics students who anticipate seeking employment in one or more uncommonly taught languages (see Table 2.64). The demand for linguists spurred by the Second World War, the NDEA, and Peace Corps programs may have pressed a larger percentage of linguists into work associated with uncommonly taught languages than will happen in the future, however. Therefore we have taken 14.5% of graduating linguistics Ph.D.'s as a conservative estimate of their future availability for work in the uncommonly taught languages. Our estimates are also conservative in that, while we start with a base of 592 linguists at all degree levels, the additions projected include only PhD's. Additional, unpredictable numbers will enter at the masters' level. Table 4.14 shows low and high projections of the increase during the next decade of that portion of the linguistics work force thought to specialize in uncommonly taught languages. The figures are based upon the low and high projections of all linguistics PhD's shown in Table 3.11 in conjunction with the assumptions that 1.5% of the work force will die or retire each year, that 14.8% of the graduating PhD's are foreign citizens who will leave this country for their own on graduation, and that 14.5% of the remainder will specialize in uncommonly taught languages. Under the low estimate, the number of linguists in uncommonly taught languages will increase by about 200. The high estimate projects a net increase of 250. These figures are very approximate because of the number and uncertainty of the underlying assumptions. Nonetheless, past trends and our knowledge of the aspirations of present graduate students support these estimates. Among graduate

Table 4.14. Net Work Force Increases at Doctoral Level for Linguists in Uncommonly Taught Languages, 1972-1983.

(a) Based on Minimum Projections of Doctorates

Year	Base	Losses by Death/Retirement[a]	Net PhDs[b]	Net Increase
1971-72	592	9	20	11
1972-73	603	9	20	11
1973-74	614	9	24	15
1974-75	629	9	25	16
1975-76	645	10	28	18
1976-77	663	10	30	20
1977-78	684	10	27	17
1978-79	701	10	28	18
1979-80	719	11	29	18
1980-81	737	11	29	18
1981-82	755	11	30	19
1982-83	774	12	30	18

Resulting total in 1982-83: 792

(b) Based on Maximum Projections of Doctorates

Year	Base	Losses by Death/Retirement[a]	Net PhDs[b]	Net Increase
1971-72	592	9	20	11
1972-73	603	9	24	15
1973-74	618	9	27	18
1974-75	636	10	30	20
1975-76	656	10	32	22
1976-77	678	10	34	24
1977-78	702	11	34	23
1978-79	725	11	34	23
1979-80	748	11	34	23
1980-81	771	12	35	23
1981-82	794	12	36	24
1982-83	818	12	37	25

Resulting total in 1982-83: 843

a/At rate of 1.5% per year.

b/Projected number of linguistics doctorates less non-citizens leaving this country, estimated at 14.8% of the total PhD's graduating x .145 (14.5% of total linguistics PhD's estimated to be associated with area studies).

students surveyed by the LSA, 50 doctoral linguistics students expected to seek employment in the uncommonly taught languages in 1973 and 1974 alone. Lambert estimated 258 linguistics students in area studies in 1971 (Table 4.12). Thus, available information indicates that during the next decade at least 300 new graduates will likely be on the job market at the doctoral level alone, and that at least 200 new (i.e., non-replacement) positions will be required to employ them in situations utilizing their knowledge of uncommonly taught languages. Given the number of languages in which teaching and study is desirable, and the low level of competence of American area specialists in most (see section 4.4), this is not a large number for a ten-year period, but whether the need will be translated into jobs is another question to be considered (though inconclusively) later.

The distribution of graduates among world areas is difficult to determine. The only statistics available are Lambert's estimates of the distribution of current specializing students in Table 4.12. A comparison of the percentage of linguists now working in each world area with the number of linguistics students specializing shows that many more students appear to be specializing in East European languages, and many fewer in Middle Eastern. Estimates of linguists per world area are of questionable accuracy, however; see section 4.2.

4.4 The Need for Specialists in the Uncommonly Taught Languages

The Lambert survey documents extensively the need for more and better training and materials in the uncommonly taught languages, and the reader is referred to that work for complete findings on this subject and Lambert's conclusions. Here we will summarize those findings of greatest interest to linguists.

Lambert suggests that the expansion of language and area studies in this country has two principal aims: to remedy a manpower deficiency and to deparochialize American culture and education (Lambert, p. 312). His findings relate primarily to the first. The most important as regards languages is reflected in Table 4.15: the low level of language competence among area specialists. With the exception of Spanish and a few East European languages (in which specialists probably include many native speakers), the language skill level is low. Moreover, if one excludes the one or two primary languages of each area (Spanish, Russian, Arabic, Swahili, Hindi/Urdu, Malay, Chinese, and Japanese) skill levels are even lower, and the number of respondents reporting any familiarity small. (Lambert, pp. 84-85). In fact, in his recommendations, Lambert states that "the most immediate need is for upgrading the language competences of those in the current national pool." (Lambert, pp. 389-90). His recommendations toward accomplishing this end are related to his findings on language instruction, and will be summarized later.

One of the principal reasons for the low level of language competence is the low initial level of training: more than half the specialist graduates of

Table 4.15. Mean Language Skill Scores of Language and Area Specialists, by Language, 1971.

	Score	No. of respondents
Latin America		
Spanish	8.02	1007
Portuguese	5.33	515
Cent. Amer. Ind.	5.08	13
Guarani	5.67	3
Quechua	5.17	6
Other S. Amer. Ind.	5.50	4
East Europe		
Baltic	7.61	18
Rumanian	6.44	23
Modern Greek	6.31	64
Albanian	6.80	5
Hungarian	8.23	22
Estonian	7.00	6
Russian	7.28	986
Polish	6.79	224
Czech/Slovak	6.89	142
Serbo-Croatian	6.80	183
Bulgarian	5.99	75
Ukranian	7.19	65
Other Slavic	6.38	86
Middle East		
Persian	6.25	183
Kurdish	5.50	4
Other Iranian	5.18	11
Armenian	7.18	17
Arabic	6.13	539
Hebrew	6.74	233
Amharic	5.09	22
Other Semitic	5.13	130
Berber	6.80	5
Cushitic	3.83	6
Osmanli Turkish	6.51	179
Other Turkic	6.42	26
Mongolian	6.05	21
Other Altaic	6.33	3

Table 4.15. Mean Language Skill Scores of Language and Area Specialists, by Language, 1971 (Cont'd)

	Score	No. of respondents
Africa		
Hausa	5.82	50
Swahili	6.18	184
Xhosa/Zulu	6.00	14
Other Bantu	6.34	77
Akan	5.81	16
Ibo	6.62	13
Yoruba	4.57	21
Fula	5.75	8
Other Niger-Congo	5.74	38
Other Sub-Saharan African	5.68	19
South Asia		
Hindi/Urdu	6.22	379
Bengali	5.90	63
Gujerati	6.64	22
Sinhalese	4.93	14
Marathi	6.26	43
Oriya	5.45	11
Punjabi	6.32	25
Other Indic	5.55	202
Pashtu	6.18	11
Tamil	5.68	37
Telegu	6.56	25
Malayalam	5.80	10
Kannada	5.50	17
Other Dravidian	5.83	6
Southeast Asia		
Thai/Lao	5.94	95
Burmese	5.26	42
Vietnamese	5.84	63
Cambodian	5.29	7
Other Southeast Asian	5.69	13
Malay/Bahasa	6.56	181
Javanese	7.00	6
Tagalog	5.37	43
Visayan	6.09	11
Ilocano	5.75	4
Other Indonesian	5.95	22

Table 4.15. (Cont'd 3)

	Score	No. of respondents
East Asia		
Mandarin Chinese	6.70	893
Other Chinese	5.87	60
Tibetan	5.48	21
Japanese	6.50	841
Korean	6.92	98

Source: Lambert, Table 3.27, pp. 74-83.

Note: Skill score derived by assigning a score of 1 to "no skill at all," 2 to "with difficulty," and 3 to "easily." Lowest possible score is 3, indicating general familiarity with the language but no skills, and maximum possible is 9, indicating highest skills in three categories of reading, writing and speaking.

language and area centers have taken no language training at all, and the remainder have received the average equivalent of four and one half semester course units (Lambert, p. 394). The latter group includes language specialists, who constitute about 15% of the national specialist pool; the average language training period of the remainder must be considerably under two years then. Current enrollment figures indicate that this situation will continue: 70% of the students enrolled for language courses are at what Lambert terms the "basic skill acquisition level"--first, second or third year courses. Table 4.16 shows the breakdown by world area. In African, South Asian, and Southeast Asian languages the great majority of enrollees are in these basic courses. Other tables (not shown here) show that the "enrollment gradient" is even steeper for most languages. Only the primary languages (Spanish, Russian, Arabic, Portuguese, Hebrew, Chinese and Japanese) have more than a few students per program enrolled in courses at the fourth year or beyond. (Lambert, pp. 65-67).

The availability of materials largely corresponds to enrollments. Lambert finds a lack of even a basic complement of materials for almost all uncommonly taught languages apart from Chinese, Japanese, Arabic and the East European languages (Lambert, p. 198). The technology of linguistics has not been extended into advanced language teaching, and materials for language instruction beyond the second year are rare. Lambert believes there are two reasons for this lack: lack of interest on the part of both linguists and language teachers and lack of funds and facilities for refinement and publication of those materials that are written (Lambert, pp. 196-98).

Other problems arise from the format of formal instruction. In spite of the opportunities presented by small classes, there is little individualization of instruction based upon individual aptitudes, motivation, and utilization goals, and students move uniformly through fixed semester-unit sequences (Lambert, pp. 199-201). The problem is worsened by the students' lack of opportunity for using the language outside language courses. Language study for many students is essentially "a separate enterprise which may form part of the required training but which has very little bearing on the rest of it." (Lambert, p. 186). Many students enrolled in area courses are not specialists and not expected to possess language skills; moreover, faculty members themselves often lack language skills (Lambert, p. 243). Lambert found that fewer than 10% of the non-language courses on Southeast Asia, South Asia, and Africa required any use of an area language. Even in Latin American studies, only one-third of the non-language courses entailed foreign language use. Moreover, 79% of these classes were literature courses (Lambert, p. 243). Use of a foreign language in non-language classes was found especially infrequent outside Spanish, Russian, Arabic, Hebrew, Chinese and Japanese (Lambert, p. 244).

The lack of language use carries over into the student's later work. Most of Lambert's respondents, whether specialists, program graduates, or students training to be specialists, wanted more opportunities to use the language of

Table 4.16. Percent of All Language Enrollees Still at Basic Skill Acquisition Level, 1971.

World Area	Percent of Enrollees in Basic Skill Courses
Latin America	66.0
East Europe	40.8
Middle East	47.5
Africa	73.8
South Asia	82.3
Southeast Asia	91.8
East Asia	57.8
ALL	70.3

Source: Lambert, Table 5.7, p. 182.

Note: Basic skill acquisition level refers to first, second and third year language courses.

their area and language training in the country where the language is spoken. Few thought that any of the current aspects of language training should be reduced; substantial percentages desired more of most aspects, especially oral/aural drill and style variety (generally 55-65%), and secondarily, translation practice and language laboratory time (33-45%) (Lambert, p. 189). Lambert also notes the rapid attrition of skills which results from infrequent use (p. 389).

To remedy this situation so far as current specialists are concerned, Lambert recommends (1) "the adaptation of existing centers or the establishment of new ones to prepare, administer and monitor individualized language instruction, especially at the advanced levels"; (2) the preparation and regular and wide circulation of substantively interesting materials to reinforce and gradually improve existing skills; (3) the creation of language use opportunities in the United States, by, e.g., conferences conducted in an area language; (4) the creation of language use opportunities in countries under study (Lambert, p. 390). For specializing students he proposes a requirement of mastery and use of an area language, and judgment of mastery in terms of career goals and performance testing rather than completion of course units, goals which will require the development of standardized testing and teaching materials and greater emphasis on advanced language instruction. Lambert urges that NDEA language funding be concentrated upon projects aimed at improving the level of competence of both students and specialists (Lambert, pp. 394-95). These recommendations are related to other proposals for area training, for example, curricular changes to prepare students for non-academic careers, language use in lectures and non-language courses, sojourns in the country under study; any reader interested in pursuing subjects discussed in this chapter is urged to read the entire Lambert study and to consider the study and teaching of uncommonly taught languages in the context of area studies.

4.5 The Demand for Linguists Specializing in Uncommonly Taught Languages

Lambert argues persuasively the importance of expanding and improving instruction in the uncommonly taught languages, and indicates that linguists can make a substantial contribution to this process. It does not follow, however, that the need will be translated into demand embodied in job positions, salaries, and funds for research and publication. In this section we will attempt, as available data permit, to measure the demand for linguists specializing in uncommonly taught languages by indicators discussed in connection with the demand for linguists generally: current employment, recent hiring, employment problems, funding, and estimates of future demand.

4.5.1 Demand as Reflected by Current Employment

As indicated by the current employment of specialists in uncommonly taught languages, demand appears to be focussed in large universities with relatively well-developed language programs; a few positions exist in other universities, four-year colleges, and government. As discussed in section 4.2, Lambert's statistics indicate that linguists as well as language and literature specialists are concentrated at universities to an even greater extent than other area specialists. Four percent of all area specialists are linguists, but 8.7% of the staff of NDFL applicant programs (see Table 4.6). Of LSA Membership Survey respondents specializing in uncommonly taught languages and employed in higher education, 50% were at the fourteen universities with the most prestigious departments of linguistics, and 80% at institutions offering a linguistics PhD, percentages far in excess of those for all academically employed linguists (23% and 49% respectively). These are largely the same institutions which house NDEA centers or have applied for them. Only 3.5% of all academically employed linguists surveyed by the LSA held full-time appointments in departments of uncommonly taught languages (e.g., Near Eastern languages). Most are in anthropology, Slavic languages, and linguistics departments. Statistics on recent hiring provided by linguistics department and program heads (see section 4.5.2) indicate that a substantial proportion, perhaps a majority, hold linguistics appointments.

The major non-academic employers of linguists in uncommonly taught languages appear to be the federal government and missionary organizations (primarily the Summer Institute of Linguistics). The federal government employs about 3% of all linguists in the work force, or 90-100 linguists (see section 2.2.9). Many government positions for linguists entail work in ESOL or foreign languages, often uncommonly taught. The largest federal employers concerned with uncommonly taught languages are the Foreign Service Institute and the Defense Language Institute, both of which conduct instruction in many languages with linguist-native instructor teams. Other agencies which have employed linguists with skills in uncommonly taught languages include the Library of Congress, the National Security Agency, the Central Intelligence Agency, and agencies engaged in translation.[1] The number of federal government positions for linguists appears not to have increased in recent years (see section 2.4.1). Specific data are available only for the FSI, but that information may reflect the situation for other agencies also, since their reimbursements account for over half the FSI's salary budget for linguists. Generally, the FSI staff has contracted but not its operations. Although the FSI School of Language Studies lost 13 positions for linguists since 1968 (reducing their number from 43 to 30), in 1973 the School taught more uncommonly taught languages at one time--35--than in all of fiscal 1968, when instruction occurred in only 24. Put differently, in 1973 with slightly over two-thirds the linguistics staff of 1968, the FSI was teaching 50% more uncommonly taught languages. The Dean of the School of Language Studies foresaw no staff expansion, and no increase in the federal government's demand for specialists in uncommonly taught languages over the next few years.

The Summer Institute of Linguistics accounts for more linguists than does the federal government, but the nature of its organization and work result in its

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1/ Information drawn from the LSA Membership Survey, the NRSTP, and the author's personal knowledge from earlier research on language-related activities in the Washington, D.C. area.

being relatively independent of conditions affecting the job market in the rest of the field of linguistics. Some of its research projects depend upon federal or foundation funds, but most of the linguists it sponsors are supported by private funds they themselves raise, and almost none are employed by secular institutions.

Few data are available on the place of employment of specialists generally (linguists or not) in the uncommonly taught languages. The Lambert report shows that in 1968 almost all registrations in the uncommonly taught languages were at area centers, except for Portuguese (80% at centers), Hebrew (20% at centers, 33% at Yeshiva University in New York), some East European languages, and a smattering of registrations in other languages (Lambert, pp. 163-6[illegible]). Most though not all area centers were at universities offering a linguistics PhD. (Area centers were listed in the Lambert survey as of 1970-71). The Lambert study also shows that public secondary school registrations in uncommonly taught languages were almost non-existent in 1968 except for Portuguese, a few East European languages, Arabic, and a few African languages, all with enrollments in the hundreds, and Hebrew, Chinese and Japanese with enrollments in the thousands. (See Table 4.1). The locations of these enrollments suggest correlation with the presence of local ethnic groups: Hebrew enrollments were concentrated in New York; Japanese in Hawaii, California and Washington state; Chinese in California, Hawaii and New York; and Portuguese in New York, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island.[1]

4.5.2 Demand as Reflected by Recent Hiring and Experiences of Linguists Seeking Employment

Linguistics departments and programs which returned LSA questionnaires reported that about 11% of the linguists they had hired from 1967 to 1972 specialized in some uncommonly taught language, most in Chinese, Japanese and African languages. (The numbers involved are so small that the particular languages shown are probably not significant.) Since this survey did not include language departments, and since respondents usually indicated only one specialization per faculty member hired, this percentage seems to be a minimum. Other information on academic hiring is unavailable.

Statistics obtained from the Doctorate Records File did not specify the number of graduating linguistics PhDs specializing in uncommonly taught languages, nor the number of specialists in "other languages" with a linguistics background. A comparison of the employment plans of the two groups shows that more PhD's in "other languages" were uncertain as to their future at the time of their graduation, and that a higher proportion who did have definite plans were to be employed at colleges and universities.

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[1] See Julia Gibson Kant, "Foreign Language Offerings and Enrollments in Public Secondary Schools, Fall 1968," Foreign Language Annals, Vol.3, No. 3 (March 1970), pp. 400-58.

Unemployed and underemployed respondents to the LSA Membership Survey included a disproportionate number specializing in uncommonly taught languages. Several wrote comments on their situation, for example a PhD in Indo-European linguistics working as a classics instructor at a prep school:

> I WANT A JOB! As an Armenologist (primarily), nobody is interested in me.

A linguist who received his PhD several years ago, with experience in linguistics, Persian/Pashto, and ESOL, unemployed almost a year:

> Teaching Persian/Pashto appears at present to be a self defeating profession, in that one of the goals has been to train others to teach Persian/Pashto. In a very few years, the market for teachers was not only flooded, but also, as a consequence, a major reason for training such teachers was contravened. Further, the Peace Corps, a potential market for professional language teachers, is dominated by political (congressional) considerations, so that budget-minded types find it much more convenient to hire native tutors (who are really only informants but who give PC a much more progressive image at a lower cost), rather than hire competent professional language teachers on a long-term basis.

An assistant professor of linguistics at a large state university:

> My present situation is perhaps relevant to the job market: I am about to lose my job. Although my department unanimously recommended my promotion to tenure, the dean of the college refused it without referring it to the evaluation committee. Apparently the ever more stringent budget restrictions, the local problems resulting from merger of (state universities), and the falling enrollments require the administration to apply criteria of "productivity" in a very strict sense. The number of students in my courses has been lower than average (the majority are rather highly specialized, non-required courses such as general phonetics, experimental phonetics, field methods, (language and linguistics courses in an uncommonly taught language). (The number of publications was not even in question.) If the efficiency experts recommend firing the oboe players, the orchestra's range is going to be diminished; who's next?

4.5.3 Funding

Instruction in the uncommonly taught languages is expensive. Lambert mentions several times, as did the respondents quoted above, that language courses, particularly in the less commonly taught languages, are particularly susceptible to elimination by cost-conscious university administrators. The low enrollments and low faculty/student ratios responsible for the comparatively high cost are shown in Table 4.17, drawn from the Lambert report. The smallness of the average language class for all world areas where uncommonly taught languages are spoken is even more striking when one recalls that most courses and enrollees are in the first three years. Average class sizes for area courses are provided for comparison; figures for other fields were not given, but area courses themselves must be small compared with those in American history, English literature, or psychology.

The cost of language and area studies has been borne to some extent by external sources, notably the federal government, through NDEA, and the Ford Foundation. Out of 236 area programs on which Lambert obtained financial information, 146, or 62% reported receiving some external support in 1970. Of them, 107 were NDEA centers. Sixty-nine, or 29%, received Ford Foundation funding, and 23%, or 55, received support from other external sources (Lambert, p. 305). The use to which area programs put these funds is shown in Table 4.18 The salaries of area studies faculty are supported primarily from internal funds; as the table demonstrates, however, language faculty are more likely than area faculty to draw salaries based upon external monies. Contrast the situation reported by linguistics departments and programs, almost all of which pay faculty salaries entirely with general university funds (see section 3.33).

On the basis of (quantified) opinions of area program directors, and changes in fund allocation made when NDEA funds were reduced in 1971, Lambert predicts that if NDEA funds were withdrawn, language faculty would be among the first affected. Program directors predicted that students fellowships and research funds would be more severely affected;library resources, area faculty, and other aspects less (Lambert, pp. 308-09). Moreover, the most vulnerable, he believes, will be teachers of what he calls "fringe" languages, the non-primary languages of each world area (Lambert, p. 310), especially in African, South Asian, and Southeast Asian languages, because there are many languages to be studied, the faculty/student ratios are especially low, the methods of instruction require native speaker informants and teaching assistants, and many students are dependent upon NDFL fellowships (Lambert, p. 311).

Even without a withdrawal or drastic reduction in government funding, universities may adopt Lambert's proposal for coping with the high cost and low efficiency of instruction in most uncommonly taught languages: that they concentrate their resources for all South Asian and Southeast Asian, and all non-primary languages of other areas (Lambert, pp. 200-01). Either event is likely to reduce employment opportunities for uncommonly taught language specialists.

4.5.4 Conclusion

Predicting future demand for linguists working in the uncommonly taught languages is risky. Lambert believes that in language and area studies as a whole supply and demand will balance (Lambert, p. 325), and that the present distribution of scholars among world areas probably reflects American long-

Table 4.17. Average Course Enrollments in NDFL Applicant Programs, by World Area, 1968-70.

World area	Mean lang course enroll	Mean non-lang course enroll	Mean lang course enrollees/lang fac member	Mean non-lang course enrollees/area fac member
Latin America	39.6	27.3	175.6	69.2
East Europe	16.7	29.0	53.7	57.7
Middle East	8.5	19.9	48.7	67.9
Africa	6.4	40.9	24.4	99.3
South Asia	3.7	30.2	14.5	80.0
Southeast Asia	15.3[a]	29.3	137.3[a]	81.7
East Asia	12.1	32.4	49.2	72.0
ALL	18.2	28.6	78.2	71.4

Source: Lambert, Table 5.6, pp. 178-79.

a/Very high enrollments in Japanese and Chinese reported by Southeast Asian program at the University of Hawaii (Lambert, p. 181).

Table 4.18. Mean Percent of Costs Met from External Funds by Use and World Area, 1971.

Cost category	L.A.	E.E.	M.E.	Afr.	S.A.	S.E.A.	E.A.
Faculty salary, area	9.0	8.4	11.0	21.9	16.6	9.0	8.5
Faculty salary, lang.	8.8	11.8	14.8	11.7	28.2	15.7	13.4
Administration	20.4	23.7	22.4	24.0	34.7	40.0	21.1
Library	19.7	15.9	28.2	30.7	24.7	29.7	19.8
Faculty research	33.8	21.1	26.8	43.6	32.4	60.5	33.1
Fellowships	26.9	35.3	89.2	47.9	55.2	54.8	40.9

Source: Lambert, Table 7.12, p. 308.

range foreign policy interests. Immediate policy interests, he notes, change radically in periods shorter than are required to train specialists (Lambert, p. 373). Lambert stresses, however, that area studies is constituted of "'tiny bands of specialists,'" an observation particularly appropriate to linguists. His reaction is that the notion of oversupply is "premature" (Lambert, p. 331). One of our respondents, employed but in a non-tenured position, expressed a different viewpoint:

> Partly as a result of the financial inducements of the NDEA Title VI program (graduate fellowships, field research for dissertation, 3 contracts following PhD) I feel I have become overspecialized in the field of Southeast Asian languages, with a resulting lack of job mobility. ... Although I was very fortunate to get the position (here) when the Southeast Asian studies program was terminated at ______, there are only three or four universities in the U.S. where I can work in my specialty.

Put differently, specialists and specialties are not fungible. A linguist specializing in Tamil, for example, is qualified to teach or do research in Tamil and linguistics, but not to fill a vacancy in Indian art, economics, history or government. If there are not positions open for a Tamil specialist (and few exist, whether open or not), then he must seek employment as a linguist, competing with others equipped with less exotic skills. Whether or not he finds work as a linguist, his language skills are likely to deteriorate from lack of use. How frequent a problem this is, we cannot say, but our respondents indicate that it is not altogether rare. Cutbacks in funding, both internal and external to institutions currently carrying out work in uncommonly taught languages, may well aggravate the situation.

4.6 Summary

The last fifteen years have seen great expansion in many aspects of the instruction and study of uncommonly taught languages: a 250% increase in the number of languages offered by American universities and colleges, an almost eight-fold increase in student enrollments, development of materials in 141 languages under NDEA sponsorship alone, and a sharp increase in the number of language specialists. Progress has been uneven, however. Uncommonly taught languages may be divided into three groups: Lambert's "primate" languages--Hebrew, Arabic, Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, and sometimes Swahili and Hindi/Urdu; languages of American ethnic minorities, primarily East European; and finally all other world languages--the more uncommonly taught languages. Even before the NDEA program began, the first two groups had student enrollments of some number. The first group has now achieved enrollments measured in thousands, and the second has smaller but stable enrollments. Area specialists possess higher levels of competence in the languages of these groups, and more materials are available. In the more uncommonly taught languages, in contrast, enrollments are still small and fluctuating, linguistic competence is low, courses are relatively few and concentrated at basic levels, and materials are sparse. Trends and statistics on current enrollments and students indicate that this situation is likely to continue.

Linguists have occupied a special position in both teaching and materials development in the uncommonly taught languages, starting with needs engendered by the Second World War, and further encouraged by almost all aspects of the NDEA program. In languages previously unstudied--African, Southeast Asian, and most of the secondary languages of other world areas--linguists dominate the field. In others, primarily languages of the first and second groups mentioned above, which were already studied in orientalist, classical, or literary traditions, linguists are outnumbered by language and literature scholars who pursue more traditional studies and methods.

We estimate that as of 1977 about 630 linguists, or 20% of the linguistics work force, specialize in uncommonly taught languages. They are concentrated at universities with area programs and universities offering the doctorate in linguistics, to a much greater extent than both other area specialists and other linguists. Most teach language as well as linguistics courses.

Needs in the uncommonly taught languages to which linguists could respond may be summarized as : (1) planning and teaching in language programs and preparing materials designed to upgrade the linguistic competence of existing area specialists; (2) increased training of students in area studies, expecially at advanced levels; (3) preparation of more instructional materials, including advanced level materials in most languages, and some basic materials in the more uncommonly taught languages; (4) development of testing materials; (5) creation of increased and more varied opportunities for foreign language use by area specialists; and (6) development of more flexible and effective teaching methods and formats.

Even more than for linguists as a whole, we are reluctant to predict the future number of linguists and employment slots. Factors such as the number of university positions and students seeking instruction seem susceptible to sudden fluctuations because of dependence upon funding from non-university sources. Moreover, overall statistics are of limited utility in a situation where specialties do not overlap and cannot be interchanged. We list the following as important factors:

--The net increase projected in the number of linguists specializing in uncommonly taught languages, at the doctoral level, is 200-250 over the next decade.

--The demand for them has been confined largely to universities with area programs. Some positions also exist in other universities, government, and four year colleges. Lambert believes that some expansion of area studies will take place in the last-mentioned, but the cost of the requisite skills and resources will almost necessitate their forming consortia.

--The number of linguists in uncommonly taught languages who are unemployed or underemployed is over the average. Overspecialization presents a special problem.

--Instruction in the uncommonly taught languages is expensive, and has been partially dependent upon funds provided by the federal government and the Ford Foundation. Diminution or withdrawal of these funds, in conjunction with internal financial difficulties in the universities, is likely to affect language faculty members especially.

--The field of uncommonly taught languages is not an entity but a conglomeration of several hundred individual, non-interchangeable specialties. In many three specialists constitute a shortage but five a surplus. This situation presents severe planning difficulties for all parties--specialists, students, teachers, department heads, and government officials.

CHAPTER V

Graduate Training and the Job Market in Linguistics: Comments and Reactions.

This study is basically a documentation of the state of the job market in linguistics and background information necessary for evaluating it, such as the professional characteristics of linguists, methods of placement, and special problems relating to sex and minority group discrimination and attempts to remedy it. Our findings indicate employment problems now which may well worsen in the future. What to do about them, however, is not so much a question for documentation as for individual ideas and appropriate actions. The following chapter reports the thoughts of others; it is essentially written by respondents to the Linguistic Society questionnaires. They have been quoted earlier in substantiating the existence of employment problems and their nature. Here they give their reactions to the employment situation and their linguistics training, and suggestions as to how both might be improved.

Many respondents complained that their training is or was, in the words of an associate professor working in ethnolinguistics,"over-theoretical and under-practical." Or, as put by an MA now working as a secretary: "My linguistics training was far too general--at the master's level--to be of much professional value to me or anyone else."

Three respondents were more specific. First, a PhD candidate in applied linguistics working as a department chief in a federal agency:

> The job I have now involves much supervision of linguists and instructors who are more educated than just "native speakers." All of my training in linguistics in college and graduate school did not help me in supervising research projects or in developing program designs. I believe more statistics and systems courses should be a part of a graduate linguistics program.

A graduate student now writing a doctoral dissertation in linguistics and Chinese:

> Nothing in my formal training has prepared me in any way for teaching. No one has ever discussed what the goals of a linguistics student or a linguistics program at various levels should be.

And another graduate student hoping to work as a Bible translator:

> Much of the training is oriented toward theory. I would have appreciated more practical training in how to enter and approach analysis of previously unstudied languages.

Language teaching was a prominent subject of comment in this regard. An MA candidate in German linguistics, teaching high school German and Spanish, said:

> After six months of teaching I feel I could have used more emphasis on applied linguistics. Much of the theoretical linguistics I had is too advanced to use in a high school classroom. More methods courses, especially in teaching grammar, also more discussion on teaching language to those who have no previous exposure to that language.

A student of applied linguistics:

> I regard my MA training principally as preparation to teach English, but I find that my department (linguistics) places a heavy emphasis on linguistics per se, and very little emphasis on teaching. There should be teacher training courses offered by the department and supervised student teaching.

Not all comments were critical, for example, a high school English teacher seeking a linguistics doctorate:

> I feel that my MA background in theoretical linguistics was excellent. It has provided me with the perspective I need for my applied work. I would hope, however, that in the near future the LSA would broaden its base in being more supporting of programs in applied theory. I would hope, too, that graduate schools of linguistics would begin incorporating the best in reading specialization, ESOL, etc.

Difficulties with certification were mentioned by several respondents, the most detailed exposition from an MA student:

> Having some practical experience with the educational administration system (in this state) it's too bogged down with pompous bureaucratic rituals. For example, I met a girl.... looking for a job in the area of ESL. She was well-qualified but sans a (state) teaching certificate. The reception she received at the State Board of Education was anything but warm and encouraging.

Unlike some other respondents, he was interested in practical experience rather than practically oriented courses:

> I could waste the time and money on a teaching certificate but I just refuse to give in. I feel that my time and money are put to better use taking classes in actual areas of interest rather than in educational classes.

A related criticism was that linguistics training was over-specialized and concentrated too much on theoretical linguistics. Several professors (i.e., on the hiring rather than the applicant's end) commented to this effect:[1]

1/ Our statistics show no great proliferation of students or specialists in theoretical linguistics (see Tables 2.15, 2.16, 2.19, 2.59-a and accompanying text). The number may still outrun the demand for them, however.

> I suspect the most discriminated against group today in the profession are those students who have specialized in theoretical linguistics and therefore possess a skill for which the market is exceedingly low. The best way to solve manpower problems is to provide students with some practical abilities for which there is some demand. As a former director of a graduate linguistic program, I can aver that the market is vastly over-supplied with narrowly specialized young linguists who want to do only descriptive syntax/semantics.
>
> I have frequently been appalled at the lack of breadth and ignorance in fields essential to understanding of language, on the part of extremely bright, well trained, promising young linguists. I hate to think that the only alternatives are that kind of ignorance or else lack of advanced training in the field. I see this area as the real challenge for our departments of linguistics.

Several graduate students complained both about overspecialization within linguistics and parochialism as regards other disciplines.[1]

> A tendency toward overspecialization in academia tody ... combined with a communication breakdown among related disciplines, makes for inadequate education of the individual within the institution. ... Linguistics is a great offender in this respect, at least as I have experienced it.
>
> Most linguistics programs today fail to provide enough anthropologically oriented courses in language and culture and field methods. Without such courses students fail to realize the intrusion of their own perceptual grid into research and the danger of forcing languages into theoretical molds which distort them. Both native and non-native speakers of languages as yet undescribed scientifically should be trained in linguistics and anthropological concepts so they can work together.
>
> I am interested in the development of linguistics as a study with practical applications to modern society--communication, both within the U.S. and between the U.S. and other countries; language education; and the sociological aspects of language use. I think that the study of linguistics should require work in sociology, anthropology, and psychology. Too much of the present work done in linguistics is concentrated on abstract syntax and such without any regard for the manner in which linguistics could be used as a viable study for a better understanding of modern man, modern society, and modern communication problems.

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[1] Not including languages disciplines. Compare the findings on linguistics and other disciplines in Chapter 2, summarized in Sections 3.3.1 and 3.3.4 (Chapter 3) on overlap between linguistics and other disciplines: it is extensive for the language disciplines but inconsiderable for any other single field.

Overspecialization was also cited as a problem by linguists specializing in uncommonly taught languages (see Chapter 4).

Another criticism was general weakness, although the reaction is best summed up by the graduating PhD who described his linguistics training as "weak but comparable." One possible reason was suggested by a chemistry BA now writing his linguistics doctoral dissertation:

> One of the most important weaknesses that I've observed in linguistics programs is the shallowness of the training that students get. This arises because linguistics is largely only a graduate program. In most programs an MA student, whether he writes a thesis or not, takes around 30 hours of linguistics courses. But compare the MA student in a field like chemistry who already has 45 hours of chemistry as an undergraduate before he even starts his 30 hours of graduate chemistry. ... The PhD situation is correspondingly bad. The best students in linguistics are those who for one reason or another have taken an unusually long time to get through their program and consequently have many more hours of linguistics under their belts than the requirements stipulate. (Of course, there are quite a few who really learned their linguistics after they graduated, and are now good linguists.)

Another, an assistant professor at a four-year college, noted his concern about the lack of undergraduate training in linguistics.[1]

Lack of integration in the curriculum was also criticized:

> This department is involved in many shifts which make themselves felt detrimentally in that no graded systematic entry into the field was provided in 1971-72; 1972-73 has somewhat remedied these circumstances, yet I still see multilateral confusion among second and third quarter students and many, realizing that the approach is not systematically arranged, rush into specialized fields at the expense of acquiring overall competence.

> The weaknesses of my training have not been from lack of personal attention at _____ (a large linguistics program) but from the lack of sequential organization in their course arrangements. To some extent this is being remedied, as, as for myself, I have benefited from seeking out an order on my own.

> My particular interest is represented by one professor (adjunct) in the linguistics department who apparently teaches one of two courses available in alternate years. ... At my undergraduate school linguistics was considered interdisciplinary (in the sense of 'peripheral to several departments') and now, as a beginning graduate student my special interest turns out to be interdisciplinary in the same sense. P.S. I have been "introduced" to phonology in five courses, graduate and undergraduate. "Structural linguistics

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[1] There are relatively few undergraduate programs in linguistics (see Section 3.1.4) and few linguists or current graduate students have linguistics BA's (see Tables 2.12, 2.58 and accompanying text).

> begins with phonology and works its way up ... to syntax, but it doesn't always arrive."

The language/linguistics dichotomy was also mentioned by at least two respondents,[1] one a student in TESOL and linguistics (at a leading program in that area) who reported difficulty in relating courses in the two, and a recent PhD in Romance linguistics:

> My academic training at ____ suffered from a nearly insurmountable split between the language-specific work and general linguistics. The linguistics department was militantly transformational and other points of view were unfavorably viewed. By reaction the language departments' historical offerings were militantly 19th century.

Apart from initial weaknesses in training, keeping up with the field is a serious concern to linguists, as other research has shown,[2] and as would be expected in a rapidly-developing subject. Two respondents, both associate professors, called for re-training opportunities.

Finally the request for comments on discrimination brought two on discrimination against graduate students as such including:

> Student discrimination, i.e., of, not by, students, is the problem. The only way around it that I can see is a working co-hort relationship rather than a teacher-student one. In the areas of academic specialty where the former has been developed, my education has been O.K., in other areas it's been zilch. It's a major restructuring that's called for in a larger setting than just a linguistics department; however, the object of study and methods relevant to linguistics make it easier to begin here.

The state of the job market, documented in the two preceding chapters, is the subject of much discussion and apprehension on the part of graduate students, who say, for example, "Everything I've seen and heard about the job market here and its future has led me to feel that it isn't worth the trouble of even looking for a job here" and, "The job market looks to me now depressing and headed quickly towards hopeless. Even though I have had three and a half years of graduate study, I am exploring other non-linguistic opportunities."

Some are both pessimistic and resentful:

> Attempts to reconcile requirements and aspirations with the job market seems to produce dilemma. No doubt I have become inadvertently "overspecialized." Compensations offered linguists (and similar) are, in my view, insulting. I would advise anyone seeking a profession to look elsewhere.

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[1] Compare some of the comments in Section 3.3.4 on the sometimes hostile relationship between linguistics and language disciplines.

[2] See e.g., Mary M. Levy and Belver Griffith, "Information Flow in the Language Sciences: An Exploratory Case Study of the Washington, D.C. Area, @ Center for Applied Linguistics, LINCS Project Document Series, #12-69. Washington, D.C., 1969.

> If no academic teaching job is available for me, I'll go into some non-academic line of work, probably auto repair. And the job market looks bad. I'm damned if I'll beg for a job.

Others hope the situation will improve:

> Expectations: bleak for at least three to four years, even following receipt of doctoral degree, at least for university teaching positions virtually anywhere in the country. The general trend (linguistics is still a young academic discipline) seems to be proliferation and so ultimately I am optimistic about the outcome of such hopes as expressed in [my preferences] above.

Among the suggestions were, first, comments on needs outside linguistics for what linguists potentially have to offer. They covered training for teachers of non-English speaking students (a teacher speaking):

> There is very little awareness of or respect for the non-English speaking child in the contained classroom. There is a need for pre-service training of future teachers in the areas of language-learning, psychology of language learning, and cultural patterns and/or backgrounds of each of the district communities. Above all, there is a great need for pre-service sensitivity training or the equivalent.

training of American Indians:

> I feel there is a need for linguists to make their skills of use to Indians, particularly bilingual education efforts. I am concerned about the lack of university support for the training of Indians in linguistics.

and training of English and foreign language teachers in elementary and secondary schools:

> I welcome this opportunity to express my thoughts on the need for a wider dissemination of the basic facts of linguistics among elementary school teachers and among English and foreign language teachers in high schools and colleges. While most linguists agree on the need, few linguists have the power to influence college curricula. Perhaps your committee will succeed where individuals have failed. ... I have had ample opportunity to observe English and foreign language teaching at the elementary and secondary school levels [and] have come to the following conclusions: 1) there is a desperate need for a knowledge of linguistic principles among elementary school teachers; 2) to a minor extent, there is also a need for a deeper understanding of how languages work and of the relationship between languages, among English and foreign language teachers in high schools and colleges; 3) and as is obvious to all, foreign language enrollments are decreasing alarmingly except at the junior high school level--at a time when the quality of foreign language teaching has shown great improvement.

> If I were to make just one proposal, I would suggest that all future elementary school teachers be required to take a year's course in general linguistics. This would keep future teachers from perpetuating outmoded notions about language in children at their most impressionable age and give elementary school teachers the background to utilize effectively the new language arts textbooks based on linguistic principles. Of course for more immediate results, in-service courses in linguistics for present teachers would be useful. And while some new language arts textbooks incorporate many sound linguistic principles, all the textbooks I have examined have basic flaws and could profit from the expert knowledge of a team of linguists. Above all, in the field of language arts textbooks a more uniform linguistic approach is needed, so that children and teachers are not confused by fundamental differences of linguistic philosophy between one series of textbooks and another.
>
> What is needed, before we can hope to persuade education departments to require a course in linguistics, is the compilation -- by a team of linguists -- of the content of a basic course in general linguistics with emphasis on areas of special interest to the Elementary School teacher. This course should always address itself to the needs of this important group of teachers and not be another general introduction to linguistics. An attempt should be made to agree on a basic body of linguistic information.
>
> The time has come to do for language arts what has been done for mathematics by the New Math. If Elementary School teachers were trained in linguistics and through them the children, training in linguistics at higher levels (including foreign language teachers) would follow logically.

An assistant professor of English at a black college observed:

> From working here, students and elementary teachers are asking linguists for answers and directions to communicative skills (reading, writing, spelling). I am convinced that if linguistics is to survive as being relevant, we have to direct our attention to "real life" problems rather than mere speculation in abstract terminology and high powered verbosity.

Suggestions by graduate students as to specific actions to improve the job market included calls for better information for students, including the criteria for choosing among job candidates, for "much more aggressive, employment oriented counselling" and for cutbacks in PhD production, for example:

> Too many departments (including [my own]) have produced too many PhD's and continue to do so. I would actually welcome a moderate cutback in fellowship funds; this would permit a more realistic relationship between supply and demand of new scholars.

Another graduate student listed the following:

1) No new graduate departments--somehow deny new accreditation
2) Agreement on fewer graduate students
3) Every graduate school applicant should be sent a letter outlining the nature of the job market.

Two other suggestions:

> Other departments that occasionally hire linguists don't seem qualified to judge their candidates. A fact sheet might be nice: telling them what linguistics is, who are big wigs in what areas (for judging letters of recommendation) and perhaps ranking of departments.

> I would suggest investigating employment opportunities in the business area of communication and public relations. In my opinion, language and linguistics training deals, to a large extent, with these two general areas. Effectiveness in these two areas is much a function of language ability.

Finally two department heads stressed the need to expand opportunities:

> I am convinced that jobs in education for linguists are going to go to generalists and those with a strong applicational orientation in the future. Presently, there is a desperate need for the profession to identify (or create, if necessary) job opportunities outside education, and for BA and MA people as well as PhD's.

> It seems to me that the major work of your committee should be toward expanding job opportunities for linguists rather than surveys. Such expansion will require considerable power manipulation and social change. Education is the most likely field to be influenced. Try it first.

Chapter VI

Minority Group Members in Linguistics

Little information is available on linguists who are members of minority groups.[1] Outside sources of data used in this study, e.g., the National Register of Scientific and Technical Personnel and the Doctorate Records File of the National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council, in the past collected no information on minority group membership. This chapter is therefore based almost entirely on questionnaires circulated by the LSA and CAL, covering only a sampling of a small field in which minority group members form a small percentage. We do not know whether our few minority group respondents are representative, and the statistics given could easily be off by several percentage points.

One additional problem is whether non-citizens (e.g., black Africans, Japanese, Mexicans) should be counted as members of minority groups, since some are in the United States only temporarily while others are permanent residents who may eventually become citizens. The LSA Membership Survey and Survey of Graduate Students of Linguistics obtained data on the minority group membership of U. S. citizens and the country of citizenship of non-citizens. The statistics given for citizens should be interpreted as the absolute minimum of minority group members available and the figures for citizens and non-citizens combined the maximum. Statistics obtained from linguistics department and program heads apparently include both citizens and some but not all non-citizens; they are probably the best compromise figures on availability.

6.1 Minority Group Students

6.1.1 Undergraduates

Minority group members constituted 10.3% of the undergraduate majors in linguistics at departments and programs surveyed by the LSA in 1973.[2] They were 11.6% of the undergraduate majors at the PhD granting institutions, 7.7% at those granting the master's in linguistics, and 10.2% at other institutions. (The breakdown by specific group is unknown).

1/ Defined here as by the federal government: blacks, Spanish-speaking, Asian, and American Indians.

2/ They were 10.6% of all full-time undergraduates in 1970, the latest year for which statistics are available. (See Table 6.1) Racial and Ethnic Enrollment Data from Institutions of Higher Education, Fall, 1970. Office for Civil Rights, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Govt. Printing Office, 1972), OCR-72-8.

Few minority group linguists and graduate students are black, as later sections will show. One reason for the paucity of black linguists may be lack of exposure to the subject. A comparison of University Resources for 1971-72 (which lists institutions offering three or more courses in general linguistics) and the racial and ethnic enrollment data from HEW cited above, shows that only 16.5% of the black undergraduate students attended institutions listed in University Resources, as compared with 43% of the Asian, 27% of the Spanish speaking, 29% of the American Indian and 30% of the white undergraduates. Only one institution listed in that volume, Howard University, was predominantly black.

6.1.2 Graduate Students

Minority group members constitute 4.2% of the American and 15% of all graduate students (citizens plus non-citizens) surveyed by the LSA. Table 6.1, which gives breakdowns by minority group, shows that most of the fifteen percent consists of Asian and Latin American citizens and that the number of blacks, Chicanos and Puerto Ricans, and Asian-Americans is quite small. The table also shows the 1970 percentages for graduate students in all fields for direct comparison, and for undergraduates in that year as some indication of the pool of potential students. Linguistics deparment and program heads reported that 11.7% of their graduate students were members of minority groups (this figure includes some but not all non-citizens). Department and program heads were not asked the breakdown between master's and doctoral students, but 60% of the minority group citizens responding to the Graduate Student Survey were in doctoral programs, about the same ratio as linguistics graduate students generally.

6.1.3 Financial Aid

According to the LSA's Survey of Linguistics Graduate Students, more minority group students received financial assistance--68% of the minority group citizens as opposed to 55% of respondents generally. The difference was in the number with fellowships; the percentages holding teaching and research assistantships were about the same. (Recall that we are discussing a total of only 25 minority group citizens, however). According to department and program heads, on the other hand, percentages receiving aid are almost exactly the same--37% of the minority group students and 36% of all students. A slightly smaller percentage of the former held teaching assistantships (10% compared with 14% of all students) and a slightly larger percentage held fellowships (19% compared with 15%).

6.2 Degree Recipients

Linguistics department and program heads reported that ten percent of the doctorates and sixteen percent of the master's degrees in linguistics granted from 1967 through 1972 went to minority group members, most to Asians, who received three-quarters of the PhD's and almost half the MA's awarded to minority group students. Spanish-speaking linguists received 2.0% of all PhD's and 4.6% of all MA's awarded, while black were one-half of one percent of the new doctorates, 4.4% of the new MA's. See Table 6.2 for the total numbers (this survey had a 67% response rate).

Table 6.1. Minority Group Members as Percentage of All Graduate Students of Linguistics, 1973.

Minority Group	Survey of Linguistics Graduate Students[a]		Survey of Linguistics Dept/Prog Heads[b]	Racial & Ethnic Enrollment Data, 1970	
	Citizens	All Students		Undergrad. Sch.	Grad. Sch.[c]
Black	1.8	2.5	3.5	6.9	4.2
Spanish-speaking	1.0	3.1	2.8	2.1	1.2
Asian	1.3	9.4	4.8	1.0	1.9
American Indian	–	–	0.6	0.5	0.3
TOTAL	[illegible]	15.0	11.7	10.6	7.7
Total Number	25	112	248		

Sources: Survey of Linguistics Graduate Students, 1973.
Survey of Linguistics Dept and Prog Heads, 1973.
Racial and Ethnic Enrollment Data from Institutions of Higher Education, Fall, 1970, Office for Civil Rights, Dept of Health, Education and Welfare.

a/ Minority group citizens as percentage of all citizens, minority group students including non-citizens as percentage of all students.

b/ Includes some non-citizens.

c/ Percentage of full-time students at all U.S. graduate and professional schools except medical, dental and law. Most recent figures available. Probably includes some non-citizens.

Table 6.2. Advanced Linguistics Degrees Awarded to Minority Group Students, 1967-1972.

Minority Group	Master's No.	Master's %	PhD No.	PhD %
Black	69	4.4	2	0.5
Spanish-speaking	72	4.6	9	2.0
Asian	111	7.0	32	7.2
American Indian	1	0.1	-	
TOTAL	253	16.0	43	9.6
TOTAL graduates	1584		447	

Source: Survey of Linguistics Departments and Program Heads, 1973.

Note: Percentages and totals are based on data only from institutions responding to this particular question.

6.3 Minority Group Linguists in the Work Force

6.3.1 Availability of Minority Group Linguists

About six percent of the LSA members surveyed in 1973, American and non-American citizens, were minority group members: 2.8% were Asian, 2.2% Spanish-speaking and 0.9% black (total 5.8%). Among respondents currently in the work force 5.2% were members of minority groups. Half this number were non-citizens, but most appeared to be permanent residents of this country. Sixty-eight percent of the minority group linguists responding to the survey held the PhD, a percentage comparable to that of the entire sample.

The survey of linguistics departments and programs indicated that a larger percentage--8.5%--of their faculty were minority group members. (Whether the discrepancy between the two surveys results from chance or the composition of the Linguistic Society is unknown.) According to this source (see Table 6.3) 4.1% were Asian, 2.9% Spanish-speaking, 1.4% black and 0.1% American Indian.

Comparison of these statistics with those on graduate students and recent graduates indicates that the percentage of minority group members available for employment will increase only slightly if at all in the near future (the percentages of graduate students, especially Asian, have to be discounted to allow for foreign students returning to their own countries). Specifically the percentage of blacks may rise slightly but the absolute numbers will remain minute. No increase in the percentage of Spanish-speaking appears likely. The number of Asians could increase--depending on how many foreign students remain in this country. American Indians will remain almost totally unrepresented.

6.3.2 Current Employment

Ninety percent of the minority group members in the linguistics work force were employed by colleges or universities, five percent by the federal government, and five percent by elementary or secondary schools, according to the LSA Membership Survey.

Their representation at each faculty rank is shown in Table 6.3. Overall they appear in the same proportions in the senior and junior ranks, but with variations by subgroup. Among LSA members the faculty rank of minority group linguists was the same as that of others of comparable degree level, years of experience, and number of publications.

Among the tenured, however, minority group members were under-represented, constituting 5.6% of all those tenured at the same institutions where they are 10.8% of the associate professors and 6.3% of the full professors (from the Survey of Linguistics Department and Program Heads).

Salaries of minority group members as reported both by themselves and by their department heads were at or a little below the median for the faculty rank held.

Table 6.3. Minority Group Members as Percentage of Linguistics Faculty, by Rank, 1972.

Minority Group	Rank				Total	Total No.
	Instr/Lect	Ass't Prof	Assoc Prof	Full Prof		
Black	–	2.3	1.5	0.5	1.4	10
Spanish-speaking	4.6	1.5	4.4	2.7	2.9	21
Asian	2.3	5.0	4.4	3.1	4.1	30
American Indian	–	–	0.5	–	0.1	1
TOTAL	7.0	8.9	10.8	6.3	8.5	
Total number	3	23	22	14		62

Source: Survey of Linguistics Departments and Program Heads, 1973.

6.4 Comments by Respondents

Individual respondents volunteered various reactions in response to our solicitation of remarks on discrimination and minority group membership.

One group was whites opposed to what they perceived as reverse discrimination, for example, a PhD candidate (himself without job prospects):

> I have never in my life witnessed any discrimination against any member of a so-called minority group in linguistics. It is criminal, in my opinion, to deny one person a job because another person's group suffered historically.

Another, also a PhD candidate:

> I feel that any discrimination which I have encountered simply stems from the fact that I happen not to be a member of a "recognized" minority group. I am opposed to any type of discrimination based on a person's non-academic background, whether it be because he is a member of a minority group or as in my specific instance a non-member of said group.

Most such comments referred to both minority groups and women (they are quoted in Section 7.5 on recent hiring) and were from young white males who are looking for jobs or have been recently.

Several whites reported experiences of reverse discrimination, for example a white male PhD candidate now employed as an assistant professor:

> Was discriminated against at a number of schools for not being a member of a minority, and was informed that "job precedence" indeed was being issued to minority groups in an effort to balance the faculty and comply with H.E.W..

A woman just receiving her doctorate stated she had encountered discrimination in seeking a position in African languages and linguistics because she was not black. Two mentioned lack of financial aid, suggesting that minority group members had an advantage:

> I belong to no minority, have never been a 100% achiever academically, have no background of economic destitution, with the cumulative result that for the greater part of the time I have been a student (and the picture of the future is worse...) I have been absolutely destitute and the recipient of very little aid. This does not seem rare in a humanistic (it was!) subject such as linguistics and I note it here not entirely personally but rather as the self-appointed spokesman for a class.

Finally, a professor of Romance linguistics felt that the focus was too narrow:

> It seems to me that the government has by-passed interest in ethnic studies such as those involving Italians, Germans, Slavs, etc. in favor of strongly militant groups. Yet, the problem of ethnicity affects the entire matter. Linguists, as other intellectuals, have tried to be fashionable in centering on the plight of unfortunates such as Chicanos and Indians--while not seeing the global picture. Perhaps it is because to be an 'ethnic' is to be in a marked category. No linguist wants to be marked.

Given the composition of our samples, most were predictably from whites. On the other side, one MA student said:

> The discrimination in a university setting against a woman with an Oriental consciousness is very subtle but strong enough to pose two alternatives: 1) either to leave the system entirely, or 2) to become a part of the structure and replace one of those discriminating forces.

and a Chinese citizen, a PhD in linguistics teaching language courses:

> It seems very obvious that I have been discriminated [against] because I don't speak English as a native language. I have good articles published, and people still refuse to hire me as a linguist.

One white linguist mentioned that he and his wife had encountered discrimination because of her minority group membership. Several expressed the usual apprehensions about the job market, for example a Chicano graduate student:

> It's a light-at-the-end-of the tunnel state of affairs. With the scarcity of job openings, I wonder when I'll be able to work in the field of study which holds and whets my interest--linguistics.

A sociolinguist, a foreign national, after noting that her applications had not even acknowledged, said:

> I expect to find discrimination on grounds of nationality when the total employment picture is so bleak, but I am uncomfortable with the notion that I should plug the "female, black" line in seeking employment (since I have never operated as a "minority" person)--which all counselors suggest ... that notion I find discriminatory.

Complaints related more frequently to language teaching than to linguistics. A number of linguistics students in ESOL (including at least one black) complained of discrimination in favor of the Spanish-speaking. The following are representative:

> I originally planned to study linguistics to become a TESL teacher, but was told bluntly that if I didn't have a Latin surname I should forget it. (I was told this by an official of the TESL program in the _____[big city] schools.)
>
> As an employee of the _____[big city] school system I have experienced an indifference toward my language and linguistics qualifications simply because I do not belong to a minority group. Here if you can't speak Spanish (my second language is Portuguese) you're not considered qualified to teach Italians, Orientals, Greeks, etc. to speak English.

There was some evidence of contention in the area of foreign language teaching, between Americans and native speakers. First, an American PhD candidate:

> I have found that in my particular field (Spanish-Portuguese) there exists a rather large number of Hispanos (i.e., non-native, non-citizens of U.S.) who are holding academic positions which should be held by Americans. The Hispanos are causing needless unemployment in the ranks of American scholars. Many of these Hispanos cannot function in the use of English.

A Latin American unemployed for a year before taking his present position, had the opposite experience:

> I have experienced discrimination against the foreign-born (hence, native speaker of the language in question), especially in what regards administrative or supervisory activities.

As did an Indian native speaker of Hindi:

> It is impossible to get a job teaching Hindi or Indian literature and civilization, despite many years of experience in U.S. colleges and universities, and despite extensive publications in respected U.S. journals in addition to a large amount of publications in Hindi, both literary (poetry) and academic. While the market is undeniably tight for anyone in this field I know many jobs which have in the past three years gone to American graduate students who can barely speak Hindi, without myself or other Indian natives being considered. Not only from my own experience but from the

> experience of countrymen with similar backgrounds, I can state unequivocally that there is strong and open discrimination against Indians in this field, except for low-paid "Teaching Assistant" or "informant" positions where native speakers are indispensible because of the low competence of the vast majority of the Americans in regular positions with respect to speaking and writing the language. If Indians are hired above the TA level it is on a temporary basis or as "lecturers" with no job security and no control over programs. This seems to be particularly the case in the major universities with NDEA supported Indian language programs, e.g. _____ [a major university] where the regular policy has been "in and out" after two or three years for Indian Hindi specialists while Americans are hired on the tenure ladder.

Finally, a Chicana with a Spanish MA and a third viewpoint:

> I have two and a half years experience in teaching Spanish at the university level. Spanish is my first language but having spoken English since childhood too I am bilingual. However, I find that identifying my ethnic background discredits me with having a respectable Spanish language background. There is myth that Spanish speakers of the southwest speak an inferior dialect and are therefore unfit to teach their own language. Training and experience are not considered. Prejudices exist if one is not a native speaker from a "legitimate" Spanish-speaking country.

All of the above are, of course, individual views, which may or may not be representative. See Section 7.5 for further discussion.

6.5 Summary

Our information about minority group linguists falls into two categories--their representation in the profession and their status. As to the first, somewhere between six and nine percent of the linguistics work force, including non-citizens, is composed of minority group members, but distribution among the individual groups is very uneven. About half are Asian, most foreign born. Both the number and the percentage of blacks is minute. Compared with the American population as a whole, blacks are grossly underrepresented and even compared with other graduate fields, linguistics is below the average. The Spanish-speaking are better represented, but many, like the Asians, are foreign born. Our statistics on graduate students indicate a small future increase in black representation. Most of the Spanish-speaking and Asian students are foreign citizens and the number who will remain in this country is unpredictable.

The status of minority group members already in the profession is, according to the measures we have, about the same as that of everyone else--rank, salary, and financial assistance to graduate students are comparable, although they are under-represented among those holding tenure.

CHAPTER VII

Women in Linguistics

Our findings on the number of women in linguistics and their status, detailed in this chapter and summarized in its last section, are based both on outside data sources, such as the National Register and the Doctorate Records File, and on LSA questionnaires circulated in 1973. The data goes back far enough and the numbers of women are large enough that, in contrast to the situation with minority group linguists, statistics are both plentiful and reliable. They show, first, that the number of recent graduates and graduate students who are women is increasing rapidly; second, that recent hiring has not kept pace; third, that women are under-represented in comparison with their availability at every level of employment and over-represented among the unemployed and underemployed; and fourth, that even when degree level and rank are considered, women are at a disadvantage in salary, tenure, and prestige of the institutions employing them. There are no statistical indications that women are disadvantaged as students.[1] Once they become candidates for placement, however, that situation changes.

Some pertinent factors relate to society in general, rather than linguistics as a profession. For example, one third of the married women linguists with PhD's (one-sixth of all female doctorates in the field) describe themselves as restricted to a single locality in seeking employment. Some may not aspire as high as their male colleagues--proportionately fewer women apply to the fourteen most prestigious linguistics departments, for example, and more women than men now working indicate a preference for teaching, as opposed to research and administration, which are better paid. On the other hand, the unemployment/underemployment rate of single women is as high as that of married women, and the fourteen most prestigious departments graduate the same percentage of women PhD's as other programs.

In brief, in the area of employment in linguistics as a whole, the statistics make out a clear prima facie case of a continuing pattern of sex discrimination. The record, in tandem with the shortage of available jobs (documented in Chapter 3) and the disparities that recent enrollment increases have produced[2] suggests that the situation described will continue or worsen, affirmative action to the contrary notwithstanding.

1/ We would emphasize that our conclusions are based on statistics and reach only as far as the factors we were able to measure. We have tried to mitigate that limitation by including comments by individuals who responded to our surveys.

2/ For example, women were 19% of the assistant professors hired from 1967 to 1972 and 25% of the PhD's conferred in those years, but are 44% of the doctoral students seeking permanent employment in 1973 and 1974.

Non-statistical aspects of the situation are not so easily documented. The type of counselling given students, the support of professors in job-seeking, treatment by interviewers, the type of teaching assignments given, for example, are not susceptible to statistical description, at least not from any existing data, and we cover then only insofar as our respondents volunteered comments about them.

Other comments cite individual experiences not paralleled by the statistical pattern, for example, those of white males who complain of being rejected in favor of women with lesser qualifications (overall proportionately fewer women than men get jobs at all), and women students who complain of being denied financial aid because they are married (overall both married and single women receive financial assistance in proportion to their numbers). Some comments, of course, corroborate the statistics.

The final section, in addition to being a summary of parts of the chapter, is designed for use in connection with affirmative action programs.

7.1 Graduate School

7.1.1 Enrollment

The percentage of women among linguistics graduate students has increased remarkably in recent years to the point where they now constitute almost half the doctoral students and over half of all graduate students in linguistics. According to the Office of Education (Table 7.1), they represented 38 5% of the total in 1966 (the first year for which enrollment statistics are available by sex), but 48.1% in 1971, while over half (53.5%) of the students surveyed by the LSA in 1973 were women.[1] Among PhD students women are 45.6% (according to department heads) or 46.6% (according to the graduate student survey) and they are now a strong majority among master's students--59.3% according to department.[2] (See Tables 7.2 and 7.3)

The trend upward continued in 1972-73, when 56.5% of new students enrolling were female. As Table 7.3 shows, women were slightly under half of those applying--48.6% but slightly over half those accepted--52.0%. (Women applicants reputedly have higher qualifications than men, in general, so these statistics indicate nothing about sex discrimination in either direction.)

A comparison of the fourteen most prestigious departments and others shows proportionately fewer women enrolled in the former, but Table 7.4 also shows that at least in 1972-73 fewer women applied to these schools, and of those accepted fewer enrolled.

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[1] Linguistics department and program heads reported 52.0% women graduate students.

[2] They are apparently over-represented among master's students responding to the Graduate Student Survey, shown in Table 7.2.

Table 7.1 Women Enrolled for Advanced Degrees in Linguistics, 1966-1971.

Year	1st Year			Beyond 1st Year			Total		
	No of Women	Total Enroll	% of Total	No of Women	Total Enroll	% of Total	No of Women	Total Enroll	% of Total
1966	295	685	43.1	275	797	34.5	570	1482	38.5
1967	363	720	50.4	288	847	34.0	651	1567	41.5
1968	394	739	53.3	307	914	33.6	701	1653	42.4
1969	401	802	50.0	423	1044	40.5	824	1846	44.6
1970	394	815	48.3	448	1069	41.9	842	1884	44.7
1971	455	843	54.0	527	1200	43.9	982	2043	48.1

Source: U.S. Office of Education, Enrollment for Advanced Degrees.

Table 7.2. Sex and Marital Status of Linguistics Graduate Students by Degree Sought, 1973.

	Degree Sought							
Sex and Mar. Stat.	PhD		Master's/PhD		Master's		Total	%
Female	221	46.6%	26	52.0%	148	68.8%	395	53.5
Married	89		10		70		169	
Single	130		16		76		222	
No report	2		-		2		4	
Male	253	53.4%	24	48.0%	67	31.2%	344	46.6
Married	130		6		27		163	
Single	123		18		40		181	
TOTAL	474		50		215		739	

Source: Survey of Linguistics Graduate Students, 1973.

Table 7.3. Enrollment and Admissions of Linguistics Graduate Students, by Sex, 1972-73.

Enrollment	% of men	% of women	Total no.
PhD	54.4	45.6	1062
Masters	40.7	59.3	950
TOTAL	48.0	52.0	2012
Admissions			
Applied	51.4	48.6	1493
Accepted	48.0	52.0	954
Enrolled	43.5	56.5	439

Source: Survey of Linguistics Departments and Program Heads, 1973.

7.1.2 Financial Aid

The percentages of men and women among the recipients of various types of financial assistance are shown in Tables 7.5 and 7.6. The results of the two different surveys covering this subject differed, as Table 7.5 shows. The graduate student survey appears to have reached an exceptionally large number of students receiving financial assistance--55% of the respondents, as opposed to 38% of the students enumerated by department and program heads. As between men and women, both surveys show teaching assistantships evenly divided, but department heads report a lower percentage of both fellowships and research assistantships as going to women while the graduate student survey shows the opposite. Overall, the first survey shows that women are 52% of the graduate students but 48% of those receiving financial assistance, while the graduate student survey shows women as 53% of the students but 55% of those receiving aid. The first is probably more accurate, since it was more comprehensive, and the graduate student survey was not a random sample. In interpreting these results the reader should recall that there are more women on the master's level, where students are less likely to receive aid, and that factors such as need and qualifications are not covered by these data.

Correlations between sex and marital status and financial assistance depend on the degree sought. Among doctoral students married men were over-represented in proportion to their overall numbers in every category except fellowships, while single men were un der-represented in every category. Married women received aid in proportion to their overall numbers, while single women were over-represented in the category of fellowships. Differences in research assistantships are probably accidental since there are so few. Among master's students on the other hand, single men were over-represented in all categories, but especially fellowships, while married women were under-represented. Again, recall that need and qualifications are not taken into account.

An analysis of subjects taught by students who reported having teaching responsibilities revealed no differences by sex.

7.1.3 Comments by Respondents

Most comments about sex discrimination in graduate schools concerned the role of professors in placement, but several did relate directly to graduate study. One was from a librarian who had completed her coursework for the PhD in linguistics:

> In 1967 I attempted to reinstate myself in graduate school in order to finish my degree. There was a letter in my file stating I could complete it if I brought myself up-to-date in the field. However, my application was rejected by the head of the linguistics program--no reason given, not even my advisor could find out why. Some years later I learned it was because the head of the department didn't like having women in the program.

Table 7.4. Percentage of Women in Enrollments and Admissions at Top Fourteen and Other Linguistics Departments and Programs, 1972-73.

	14 Top			Other		
Enrollment	% of Wom	No. of Wom.	Tot. No.	% of Wom.	No. of Wom.	Tot No.
PhD students	42.7			48.1		
Master's students	52.4			61.2		
Total	45.6			55.6		
Admissions						
Applicants	46.9	337	718	50.2	389	775
Acceptances	51.2	192	375	52.5	304	579
Enrollments	51.7	75	145	59.5	173	294

Source: Survey of Linguistics Departments and Program Heads, 1973.

Table 7.5. Distribution by Sex of Linguistics Graduate Students Receiving Financial Aid, 1972-73.

Type of Aid	Sur of Dept/Prog Heads			Sur of Ling Grad Students		
	% Women	% Men	Tot No.	% Women	% Men	Tot No.
Teaching ass'tship	49.5	50.5	297	51.8	48.2	143
Research ass'tship	39.0	61.0	95	51.2	48.8	43
Fellowships	48.2	51.8	326	60.4	39.6	154
Univ fellowship				55.9	44.1	59
Gov't fellowship				62.2	37.8	67
Other fellowship				64.3	35.7	28
Other	62.5	37.5	40	52.4	47.6	63
Total rec'g aid	48.3	51.7	758	55.1	44.9	403
TOTAL students	52.0	48.0	2012	53.2	46.8	735

Source: Survey of Linguistics Departments and Program Heads, 1973.
Survey of Linguistics Graduate Students, 1973.

Table 7.6. Distribution by Sex and Marital Status of Linguistics Graduate Students, Receiving Financial Aid, 1973.

	PhD Students					
	Women		Men			
Type of Aid	Married	Single	Married	Single	%	No.
Teaching ass'tship	20.0	25.6	40.0	14.4	100.0	90
Research ass'tship	7.1	42.9	35.7	14.3	100.0	28
Fellowship	20.0	41.6	26.4	12.0	100.0	125
Other	20.0	26.7	40.0	13.3	100.0	30
Total rec'g aid	18.7	34.8	33.3	13.2	100.0	273
TOTAL students	18.9	27.5	27.5	26.1	100.0	472
	Master's Students					
Teaching ass'tship	22.6	39.6	11.3	26.4	99.9	53
Research ass'tship	6.7	46.7	20.0	26.7	100.1	15
Fellowship	24.1	31.0	10.3	34.5	99.9	29
Other	24.2	33.3	18.2	24.2	99.9	33
Total rec'g aid	21.5	36.9	13.9	27.7	100.0	130
TOTAL students	30.4	35.0	12.6	22.1	100.1	263

Source: Survey of Linguistics Graduate Students, 1973.

Women complained of not being taken seriously:

> Women in my department are presumed to be terminal MA candidates and must work very hard to avoid being advised into courses designed for MA in TESOL students.

> The most difficulty I have found as a woman--a professor's wife with two children--has been with having colleagues take me seriously. Too many view my "category" of graduate students a group of bored housewives looking for something interesting to do. It has not been easy to get financial support either. My husband left his job at _____[another university]--without salary--to be with me here while I complete my doctorate. Yet it is assumed that he is financially responsible for me and the family, so fellowship stipends are given to more needy graduates. I rather doubt that a male graduate would be regarded in the same light.

A male graduate student had a different view:

> I feel that at the present time a white, male student is at a disadvantage in higher education unless his parents or family can provide for him. This is unfortunate because if it continues more men who want to work in their field will be unable to do so. Further many people from families in lower income groups will be unable to support themselves and their families while faculty wives can continue toward unneeded degrees on sexist unneeded grants.

7.2 Degrees Conferred

7.2.1 Doctorates

Women hold slightly less than one-fourth of the doctorates conferred in linguistics, but the percentage has increased recently and will probably rise sharply soon, given the increases in enrollment described in Section 7.1.1. Table 7.7 shows the number of PhDs in linguistics granted by sex from 1936 to 1972. Women made up 22% of the cumulated total of linguistics doctorates: 20% of those awarded from 1936 to 1967 and 25% of those awarded from 1967 to 1972.[1] The percentage varied between 23% and 26% between 1967 and 1971, but was over 30% in 1972. Although relatively fewer women are enrolled in them, the fourteen most prestigious departments were close to the average in the percentage of doctorates conferred on women--23% between 1967 and 1971 as opposed to 24% overall in those years.

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[1] Statistics from the Doctorate Records File of the National Academy of Sciences National Research Council. Office of Education statistics are in accord for the years they cover, as are those from department and program heads.

Table 7.7. Linguistics Doctorates Conferred, 1936-1972, by Sex.

Years	Female	Male	Total
1936-1939	-	8	8
1940-1949	2	14	16
1950-1959	27	177	204
1960-1967	114	396	510
Subtotal	143 (19.4%)	595 (80.6%)	738
1968	28	86	114
1969	25	89	114
1970	34	103	137
1971	41	135	176
1972	48	110	158
Subtotal	176 (25.2%)	523 (74.8%)	699
TOTAL	319 (22.2%)	1118 (77.8%)	1437

Source: NAS-NRC, Doctorate Records File.

Statistics from the Doctorate Records File show two further facts about women doctorates in linguistics. First, among American citizens the median age of women at receipt of the doctorate is almost two years older than that of men, but the difference holds for unmarried people only. Single women on the average are four and a half years older than single men, but married women are only a few months older than married men. Second, the median total time lag between receipt of a bachelor's degree and a PhD in linguistics is a little over nine years, women taking about one year longer than men, but the median registered time lag is about the same for both sexes, six years.

7.2.2 Master's and Bachelor's Degrees

Women received a little over 40% of the master's degrees conferred by linguistics departments between 1956 and 1970, the years covered by Office of Education publications. The percentage increased at the end, to 52% in 1970, and department and program heads reported that about 55% of their master's recipients since 1970 were women. Women received about 60% of the linguistics BA's awarded between 1967 and 1970 (the total number of BA's before 1967 was miniscule, and later statistics are not available).

7.3 Women in the Linguistics Work Force: General Characteristics

7.3.1 Degree Level

Among working linguists men are more likely than women to hold a PhD, but the gap is slowly decreasing. In 1973 fifty-nine percent of the female LSA members surveyed held the doctorate, 17% were doctoral candidates, 20% held a master's and 4% a bachelor's. Of male linguists, 81% held the doctorate, 9% were doctoral candidates, 8% held the master's and 2% the bachelor's (Table 7.8).

The proportion of linguists, both male and female, holding the PhD was somewhat lower in the 1970 NRSTP,[1] as Table 7.9 shows. The Registers of 1966 through 1970 show that the percentage of women linguists with a PhD increased from 44.6% to 47.2% and the percentage of those holding the master's increased from 38.2% to 41.2% during this period while the percentages of men holding both degrees remained almost constant. (Table 7.9--vertical percentages).

As to composition by sex of the work force at each degree level, as Table 7.8 shows, women are 26% of the work force overall according to the 1973 LSA Membership Survey: they constitute 20% of the PhD's, 39% of the PhD candidates, and 45% of those at the master's level. As the horizontal percentages in Table 7.9 show, the percentage of women among doctoral linguists increased steadily between 1966 and 1970. The statistics on degrees conferred and on graduate enrollment (Sections 7.1 and 7.2) indicate that increases will continue.

1/ Only 59% of the Register respondents held PhD's as compared to 75% of the LSA members surveyed. LSA members are younger than non-LSA members, thus making the Register group, which includes both, older.

Table 7.8. Sex and Marital Status of Linguists in the Work Force, 1973.

Sex by Marital Status	Degree Level						
	PhD		PhD Cand.	Master's	Bach.	Total %	
	%						
Female	55 (20.2)		16	19	4	94 (25.8)	
Married		29 (10.6)	9	9	2		49 (13.5)
Single		36 (9.5)	7	10	2		45 (12.4)
Male	218 (79.9)		25	23	4	270 (74.2)	
Married		188 (68.9)	17	18	1		224 (61.5)
Single		29 (10.6)	8	5	3		45 (12.4)
No Report		1 (.4)	-	-	-		1 (.3)
TOTAL	273 100.1	99.1	41	42	8	364 100.0	100.1

Source: LSA Membership Survey, 1973.

Table 7.9. Number of Linguists, by Sex, 1966-1970.

Highest Degree	1966			1968			1970		
	Male	Fem	Tot	Male	Fem	Tot	Male	Fem	Tot
PhD	631	119	750	793	162	955	923	211	1134
Horiz. %	(84.1)	(15.9)		(83.0)	(17.0)		(81.4)	(18.6)	
Vert. %	(63.0)	(44.6)		(66.3)	(47.0)		(63.4)	(47.2)	
Masters	246	102	348	277	136	413	401	184	585
Horiz. %	(70.7)	(29.3)		(67.1)	(32.9)		(68.6)	(31.5)	
Vert. %	(24.6)	(38.2)		(23.2)	(39.4)		(27.6)	(41.2)	
Bach	94	43	137	90	44	134	111	50	161
Horiz. %	(68.6)	(31.4)		(67.2)	(32.8)		(68.9)	(31.1)	
Vert. %	(9.4)	(16.1)		(7.5)	(12.8)		(7.6)	(11.2)	
Less than Bach	-	1	1	1	-	-	2	-	2
Vert. %	-	(.4)		(.1)	-	-	(.1)	-	
No No Report	31	2	33	33	3	36	17	2	19
Vert. %	(3.1)			(2.8)	(.9)		(1.2)	(.5)	
Total	1002	267	1269	1196	345	1541	1455	447	1902
Horiz. %	(79.0)	(21.0)		(77.6)	(22.4)		(76.5)	(23.5)	

Source: NRSTP, 1966, 1968, 1970.

7.3.2 Marital Status

Nearly half the women linguists (48%) in the LSA sample of 1973 were single, while only 17% of the men were. Degree level made no difference--well over half the women holding PhD's were unmarried. (See Table 7.8).

7.3.3 Age

Women linguists as a group are younger than men. The median age of female linguists reported in the 1970 NRSTP was 35, while the median age for men was 38. The higher the degree, the greater the disparity in age. The median age of women PhD's was 43--seven years less than the median for men, but there was only two years difference in median ages for female and male linguists whose highest degree was the master's--31 and 33 years respectively, while the median age for both men and women holding the bachelor's was 28.

7.3.4 Geographic Restrictions

Women linguists are more likely than men to limit themselves in job-seeking to a particular locality, but the number so restricted is a minority even of the married women. In response to the question "In job seeking, would you consider yourself restricted to any particular geographic location or type of community?" 40% of the married female LSA members responding--35% of those holding doctorates--considered themselves limited to one area, as did 7% of the single women responding. In contrast, 5% of the married men and 4% of the single men were so restricted (the figures were 2% and 0 for married and single male PhDs).

Among graduate students currently seeking permanent employment, the response was similar. Among PhD students 30% of the women but only 3% of the men said they were limited to one vicinity; for master's students 32% of the women and 4% of the men said the same.

Several respondents, all married women, mentioned geographical restrictions as their principal problem, for example a doctoral student:

> Unfortunately I expect to have considerable difficulty in finding employment upon receiving my PhD. I am tied to this area because of my husband's employment. _____[a large state university] would seem to be the only university in the area that might be a possible employer, but as a faculty wife, it is questionable if they would hire me, especially since my degree will be from [this institution]. I will therefore have to look for other types of employment, not necessarily in linguistics. We have considered moving to another area, but have decided that it would not be wise for some time. This uncertainty about future employment has often brought me close to quitting.

An assistant professor:

> I have never encountered discrimination because of sex. Being married limits me geographically, or I would have better work and pay. I'm just not flexible enough to accept better jobs elsewhere, and feel most complaints of discrimination by women are in this same category.

An older MA student:

> I have encountered difficulties (1) as the result of being a wife and choosing to move with my husband when he accepts transfers, (2) as the result of being a mother of four, and giving their welfare top priority, but I have experienced no discrimination. I can report, rather, that I have received consideration above and beyond that required by a strict interpretation of guidelines. I have found, wherever I have lived, opportunities to continue studying the subjects which interest me and I believe that I shall, any year now, make a contribution to psycholinguistics which may be of some significance.

7.4 Employment Status

7.4.1 Unemployment and Underemployment

According to the LSA Membership Survey, women constitute 26% of the linguistics work force, but 44% of the un-and underemployed. Table 7.10 shows the rate by degree level. Three times as many women PhD's are unemployed or severely underemployed and the same is true of PhD candidates. At the master's level, rates are high for both sexes. Earlier studies have shown similar results. In the 1970 NRSTP, for example, the unemployment rate for women was twice that for men (Table 7.11). According to their department heads, the recent PhD's not employed constitute 1% of the men but 8% of the women. Marital status among the LSA Survey respondents did not correlate with employment problems for women--the percentage was the same for both married and single women--but it did for men, with a much higher percentage of single males suffering employment problems. Most of the unemployed of both sexes and in both the LSA and National Register groups were recent graduates.

7.4.2 Full vs. Part-Time Employment Status

Of the employed women responding to the LSA Survey, 78% worked full-time. Ninety-four percent of the women with PhD's worked full-time, while only 63% of those with master's degrees did so. Men were more likely to work full-time--98% of the PhD's, 94% of the MA's (see Table 7.12 for further details).

Table 7.10. Rates of Unemployment and Underemployment (Combined) in Linguistics, by Sex, 1973.

Degree Level	Men	Women
PhD	5.5	16.4
PhD candidate	8.0	31.3
Master's	30.4	21.1
Overall	7.8	19.2

Source: LSA Membership Survey, 1973.

Table 7.12. Employed Linguists: Full-Time vs. Part Time Status by Sex, 1973.

Degree Level	Male				Female			
	Full Time		Part Time		Full Time		Part Time	
	#	Hor. %	#	Hor. %	#	Hor. %	#	Hor. %
PhD	212	(98.2)	4	(1.9)	48	(94.1)	3	(5.9)
Doct. Cand	21	(91.3)	2	(8.7)	6	(46.2)	7	(53.9)
Masters	17	(94.4)	1	(5.6)	10	(62.5)	6	(37.5)
Bach or Less	3	(75.0)	1	(25.0)	1	(33.3)	2	(66.7)
Total	253	(96.9)	8	(3.1	65	(78.3)	18	(21.7)

Source: LSA Membership Survey, 1973.

Table 7.13. Linguistics Work Force: Preferred Working Time Status, by Sex and Marital Status, 1973.

Preferred Wkg Time Status	Degree Level									
	PhD		PhD Cand.		Master's		Bachelor's		Total	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
Full-Time	47	209	14	24	10	21	-	2	71 (77)	256 (95)
Married	24	183	7	17	3	17	-	1	34	218
Single	23	26	7	7	7	4		1	37	38
(No rep)	-	(1)	-	-	(1)	-	-		(1)	(1)
Part-Time	7	5	1	1	6	1	1	1	15 (16)	8
Married	5	3	1	-	3	1	1	-	10	4
Single	2	2	-	1	3	-	-	1	5	4
Either	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	1
Married	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	1
Single										
No Report	1	3	1	-	1	-	2	1	5 (5)	4
Married	-	2	1	-	1	-	1	-	3	2
Single	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	2
Total	55	217	16	25	17	23	4	4	92	269

Source: LSA Membership Survey, 1973.

For women as a group these figures matched those on preferences.[1] Seventy-seven percent of the female LSA members surveyed preferred full-time employment: 85% of those with PhD's and 62% with master's degrees (Table 7.13). In contrast, almost all the women graduate students surveyed hoped to obtain full-time employment--only seven percent of the 192 female doctoral students and twelve percent of the 138 women working for a master's preferred part-time work.

The 1970 NRSTP shows fewer women working full-time than does the LSA Membership Survey: only 65% of the female linguists in the Register were employed full-time, compared to 86% of the males. The gap between males and females was narrower for PhD's: 86% of the female PhD's were working full-time, compared to 97% of the males (Table 7.11).

A number of respondents, both male and female, married and single, students and professors, asked for more flexibility in appointments. Some wanted part-time jobs, like an unmarried male doctoral student:

> I would favor the availability of half-time professorships (or alternate-year ones) as permanent job opportunities: (1) I don't want a full-time commitment. (2) I don't need a full-time salary. (3) I would do a better job and be happier under such an arrangement. (4) Assuming that there are others like me, this would increase the number of positions for linguists--increasing the job market.

The disadvantages of available part-time positions were listed by two respondents, both working full-time now:

> As a scholar, wife, and mother, I would prefer a half-time position at half of the salary I earn as a full-time person on the staff. This would give me more time for research. Unfortunately, all of the part-time openings that I have encountered are menial (i.e., language drill sections) and poorly paid.

> As the divorced mother of a child I would much prefer to work part-time--I can live on the part-time salary, but the problem is with part-time status. One is not considered "serious" or "professional" if one is working only part-time. One is therefore more expendable. Also there is no job security in the form of tenure for part-time jobs at most institutions.

1/ Our tabulations do not show how many linguists now working part-time would prefer to work full-time and vice-versa. The former was considered in our determination of underemployment.

Table 7.11. Employment Status of Linguists by Sex: PhD's and Total, 1970.

Employment Status	Male				Female				Total			
	PhD		Total		PhD		Total		PhD		Total	
	No.	V%	No.	V%	No.	V%	No.	V%	No.	V%	No.	V%
Employed full time	894	(96.9)	1234	(86.0)	182	(86.2)	289	(64.9)	1076	(94.9)	1523	(81.0)
Employed part time	14	(1.5)	101	(7.0)	18	(8.5)	73	(16.4)	32	(2.8)	174	(9.3)
Unemployed, seeking emp	12	(1.3)	57	(4.0)	8	(3.8)	33	(7.4)	20	(1.8)	90	(4.8)
Unemployed, not seeking employment ᵃ	1	(0.1)	41	(2.9)	3	(1.4)	50	(11.2)	4	(0.4)	91	(4.8)
Retired	2	(0.2)	2	(0.1)	-	-	-	-	2	(0.2)	2	(0.1)
Total	923		1435		211		445		1134		1880	

Source: NRSTP, 1970, Special committee tabulations.

a/ Figures under total columns include students.

Others urged the creation of joint or split appointments, pointing out benefits to both institutions and individuals:

> Like many married couples, we require one full-time position between us. For each of us to work part-time would be ideal: sufficient salary, extra research time; but I cannot simply check the part-time box. Our experience in the job market has been that few universities are willing to hire a team on this basis; but when it has been done it improves the quality of teaching and breadth of departmental competence, as well as effectively opening up the job market. Leaving aside the fact that few jobs of whatever type are available, we have found that it is not nepotism per se so much as the structuring of departments by full-time positions, that presents an obstacle.

This number included unmarried students:

> If a candidate for employment prefers or is willing to accept half-time employment, this is usually ignored by linguistics departments, despite possibilities of significant mutual benefits (e.g., higher proportion of informal contribution to the department--two half-linguists are probably more valuable than one "full-time" linguist.)

7.5 Employment

7.5.1 Employer Type

Differences between the sexes as to broad category of employer type[1] are largely predictable from differences in degree level. Most employed women linguists in the LSA survey were at colleges and universities (although in slightly lesser proportions than men, even when degree level is considered--90% of women PhD's were academically employed, compared to 92% of the men). Overall, 73% of the employed female LSA members surveyed were employed in higher education (compared to 88% of the males); 9% were employed by secondary or elementary schools (compared to 2% of the males); and no sizable percentage worked in any other single type of institution. (See Tables 7.14 and 7.15 for details.)

Women at colleges and universities are least likely to be at the most prestigious institutions. At the institutions with the fourteen most prestigious departments only 11.5% of the linguistics faculty is female,[2] as compared with

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[1] Institutions within categories vary widely in prestige, salaries paid, work activities, etc.

[2] Total linguistics faculty. Within the linguistics departments themselves 11.6% of the faculty is female.

Table 7.14. Employed Linguists: Employer Type, by Sex, 1973.

Employer Type	Degree Level														
	PhD			PhD Cand.			Master's			Bachelor's			Total		
	Male	Fem.	Tot.	Male	Fem.	Tot.	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
University	183	38	221	12	9	21	5	4	9	2	-	2	202	51	253
Vert. %	84.7	74.5	82.8										77.7	62.2	74.0
Horiz. %	82.8	17.2											79.8	20.2	
Four-year college	14	7	21	6	1	7	2	-	2	1	-	1	23	8	31
Vert. %	6.5	13.7	7.9										8.9	9.8	9.1
Horiz. %	66.7	33.3											74.2	25.8	
Two-year college	1	1	2	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	-	-	3	1	4
Vert. %	.5	2.0	0.8										1.2	1.2	1.2
Fed. gov't.	4	-	4	1	-	1	3	1	4	-	1	-	8	1	9
Vert. %	1.9		1.5										3.1	1.2	2.6
Elem/ sec/school	2	-	2	-	1	1	3	4	7	-	2	2	5	7	12
Vert. %	0.9		0.8										1.9	8.5	3.5
Non-profit org.	2	1	3	1	1	2	1	-	1	-	-	-	4	2	6
Vert. %	0.9	2.0	1.1										1.5	2.4	1.8
Priv. bus.	3	1	4	1	-	1	1	2	3	1	-	1	6	3	9
Vert. %	1.4	2.0	1.5										2.3	3.7	2.6
Other	6	3	9	-	-	-	1	3	4	-	-	-	7	6	13
Vert. %	2.8	5.9	3.4										2.7	7.3	3.8
No Report	1	-	1	1	1	2	-	1	1	-	-	-	2	2	4
Vert. %	0.5		0.4										0.7	2.4	1.2
TOTAL	216	51	267	22	13	35	18	15	33	4	3	7	260	82	342
Horiz. %	80.9	19.1											76.0	24.0	

Source: LSA Membership Survey, 1973.

Table 7.15. Employed Linguists: Employer Type, by Sex, 1970.

Employer Type	Male			Female			Total
	No.	Vert. %	Horiz. %	No.	Vert. %	Horiz. %	
College or univ.	868	77.6	79.3	227	71.8	20.7	1095
Two year college	17	1.5	85.0	3	1.0	15.0	20
Elem. sec school	18	1.6	54.6	15	4.8	45.5	33
Non-profit org.	84	7.5	72.4	32	10.1	27.6	116
Priv. bus.	43	3.9	79.6	11	3.5	20.4	54
Fed. gov't	44	3.9	83.0	9	2.9	17.0	53
State gov't	1	0.1	-	-	-	-	1
Other gov't	2	0.2	-	4	1.3	-	6
Research center	10	0.9	90.9	1	0.3	9.1	11
Military serv	11	1.0	-	-	-	-	11
Other	13	1.2	54.2	11	3.5	45.8	24
Self employed	7	0.6	70.0	3	1.0	30.0	10
TOTAL	1118	100.0	78.0	316	100.2	22.0	1434

Source: NRSTP, 1970, Special committee tabulations.

15.1% at the other universities offering a linguistics PhD, and 17.9% at all other institutions. (Numbers and percentages of women employed at each of the six types of academic institution appear in Table 7.21 in Section 7.5.3.1 on academic rank.)

7.5.2 Primary Work Activity

Women linguists are more likely than men to be teaching, less likely to be doing research or management--even when degree level and employer type are accounted for. For example, Table 7.16 shows the primary work activity of academically employed LSA members surveyed, by highest degree and sex. Among PhD's teaching is the primary work of 78% of the women, and 62% of the men. Research, on the other hand, is the primary work for 9% of the women and 14% of the men, while the figures for administration are 2% and 7% respectively. (The inclusion of those who reported two or more activities as equally time-consuming produces similar results).

Of the non-academically employed LSA members (see Table 7.17), 65% of the women compared with 26% of the men, reported teaching as their primary work activity, while only 5% of the women listed administration (compared to 23% of the men) and 5% research (10% of the men).

The results of tabulations from the 1970 National Register are roughly the same, both among academically and non-academically employed linguists--see Table 7.18.[1]

The LSA Membership Survey asked respondents how they would prefer to allocate their working time among activities. The results, shown in Table 7.19 indicate that more women than men prefer teaching as their primary work activity and fewer prefer research. Including those who expressed an equal preference for two or more activities, 85% of the women, but only 67% of the men listed teaching as a preferred primary work activity, while 46% of the women and 66% of the men listed research.

7.5.3 Academically Employed Women

7.5.3.1 Rank

Women are under-represented in comparison with their availability at every faculty rank, but especially at the senior levels. For comparison, from 1936 through 1967, women received 19% of the doctorates conferred in linguistics, so one would expect to find roughly this percentage as associate and full professors in 1973. Since 1967 they have received about 25% of the linguistics

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1/ The work activity categories in the two surveys are not strictly comparable. One exception to the above statement is that proportionately more women in the non-academic sector are doing research according to the NRSTP tabulations.

Table 7.16. Primary Work Activity of Academically Employed Linguists, by Sex, 1973.

Primary Work Activity	Degree Level									
	Less than PhD		PhD				Total			
	F	M	F		M		F		M	
	No.	No.	No.	V%	No.	V%	No.	V%	No.	V%
Teaching	10	22	36	(78)	119	(62)	46	(75)	141	(64)
Research	2	2	4	(9)	26	(14)	6	(10)	28	(13)
Administration	-	-	1	(2)	14	(7)	1	(2)	14	(6)
Teaching/res.	-	3	2	(4)	24	(13)	2	(3)	27	(12)
Teaching/admin.	-	1	-		3	(2)	-		4	(2)
Tch/res/admin.	-	1	1	(2)	4	(2)	1		5	(2)
Other	3	1	2	(4)	1	(1)	5	(8)	2	(1)
TOTAL	15	30	46		191		61		221	
No report					(6)				(6)	

Source: LSA Membership Survey, 1973.

Table 7.17. Primary Work Activity of Non-Academically Employed Linguists, by Sex, 1973.

Prim. Work Activity	Degree Level											
	Bachelor's		Master's		PhD Cand.		PhD		Total			
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	%	Male	%
										%		%
Teaching	3	-	6	4	3	-	1	4	13	(65)	8	(26)
Research			-	1	-	1	1	1	1	(5)	3	(10)
Administration			-	2			1	5	1	(5)	7	(23)
Teaching/research			1	-			1	-	2	(10)	-	
Teaching/admin.			-	1					-		1	(3)
Research/admin.								1	-		1	(3)
Other combination			-	1					-		1	(3)
Other	1	-	-	1	1	2	1	7	3	(15)	10	

Source: LSA Membership Survey, 1973.

Table 7.18. Primary Work Activity of Linguists, by Sex and Academic vs. Non-Academic Employer, 1970.

Primary Work Activity	Academically Empl'd				Non-Academ. Empl'd				Total			
	Male	V%	Female	V%	Male	V%	Female	V%	Male	V%	Female	V%
Tchg: T	752	(71)	201	(77)	39	(16)	21	(24)	791	(61)	222	(64)
PhD	588	(74)	134	(81)	8	(10)	2	(8)	596	(68)	136	(72)
Master's	146	(70)	52	(31)	30	(15)	18	(35)	176	(54)	70	(37)
Bach	15		13		1		1		16		14	
Other	3		2		-		-		3		2	
Writing	15	(1)	2	(1)	29	(12)	12	(14)	44	(3)	14	(4)
PhD	12		1		8	(10)	1	(4)	20	(2)	2	(1)
Master's	2		1		15	(3)	7	(14)	17	(5)	8	(4)
Bach	1		-		5		4		6		4	
Other	-		-		1		-		1		-	
Research	156	(15)	34	(13)	60	(25)	28	(32)	216	(17)	62	(18)
PhD	100	(13)	18	(11)	25	(30)	10	(42)	125	(14)	28	(14)
Master's	36	(17)	10	(6)	24	(20)	14	(27)	60	(18)	24	(13)
Bach	15		6		10		4		25		10	
Other	5		-		1		-		6		-	
Mgmt: R & D	23	(2)	-		32	(13)	3	(3)	55	(4)	3	(1)
PhD	19	(2)	-		18	(21)	-		37	(4)	-	
Master's	2	(11)	-		11	(9)	3	(6)	12	(4)	3	(2)
Bach	1		-		2		-		4		-	
Other	1		-		1		-		2		-	
Mgmt: Other	91	(9)	12	(5)	44	(18)	10	(11)	135	(10)	22	(6)
PhD	72	(9)	9	(5)	17	(20)	6	(25)	89	(10)	15	(8)
Master's	15	(7)	1	(1)	19	(16)	3	(6)	34	(10)	4	(2)
Bach	3		2		7		1		10		3	
Other	1		-		1		-		2		-	
Consulting	1		1		14	(6)	6	(7)	15	(1)	7	(2)
PhD	1		1		5	(6)	4	(17)	6	(1)	5	(3)
Master's	1		1		5	(4)	2	(4)	5	(2)	2	(1)
Bach	-		-		3		-		3		-	
Other	-		-		1		-		1		-	
Other	22	(2)	10	(4)	27	(11)	8	(9)	49	(4)	18	(5)
PhD	2		3		3	(4)	1	(4)	5	(1)	4	(2)
Master's	9		6		14	(12)	5	(10)	23	(7)	11	(6)
Bach	11		1		10		2		21		3	
Other	-		-		-		-		-		-	
TOTAL	1060		260		245		88		1305		348	
PhD	794		166		84		24		878		190	
Masters	209		70		118		52		327		122	
Bach	47		22		38		12		85		34	
Other	10		2		5		-		15		2	
No Report	31		12		119		87		150		99	

Source: NRSTP, 1970, Special committee tabulations.

Table 7.19. Preferred Work Activity of Linguists in the Work Force, by Sex, 1973.

Preferred Prim. Work Activ.	Degree Level: Bachelors Female	Bachelors Male	Master's Female	Master's Male	Doct. Cand. Female	Doct. Cand. Male	PhD Female No.	PhD Female V %	PhD Male No.	PhD Male V %	Total Female No.	Total Female V %	Total Male No.	Total Male V %
Teaching	1		11	10	8	8	25	(47)	64	(30)	45	(50)	82	(31)
Research	1	3		4	2	6	5	(9)	63	(30)	8	(9)	76	(29)
Administration				3			2		4		2	(2)	7	(3)
Teaching/Res.	2		6	4	6	10	17	(32)	69	(33)	31	(34)	83	(32)
Teaching/Admin.							1		2		1		2	
Research/Admin.			1								1		-	
Tch/Res/Admin.							2		8		2		8	
Other				1		1	1		2		1		4	
TOTAL	4	3	18	22	16	25	53		212		91		262	
No Report		1	1	1			2		6		3		8	

Source: LSA Membership Survey, 1973.

PhD's, so this is the percentage one would expect to find as assistant professors.[1]

In actuality, tabulations from University Resources for 1971-72[2] show women as 7% of the full professors, 15% of the associate professors (11% of both ranks combined), and 19% of the assistant professors. Linguistics department and program heads reported that women held 11% of the full and associate professorships in 1973 and 23% of the assistant professorships in their programs. (Tables 7.20 and 7.21)

Within each rank women are fewest at the most prestigious institutions. For example, in the senior ranks of full and associate professor, 6.7% of the linguistics faculty at the institutions with the fourteen most prestigious departments is female, as compared with 10.4% at other PhD-granting institutions and 12.7% at all other institutions. At the assistant professor level, the figures are 13.2%, 18.2% and 21.1% respectively (derived from Table 7.21, which gives the complete tabulations from University Resources). All the departments of the top fourteen graduate schools in linguistics among them had eight women full professors, seven associate professors and twelve assistant professors (out of 314 faculty members at these ranks).

7.5.3.2 Tenure

The same pattern holds for tenure. Overall, women hold 13% of the tenured linguistics positions according to their department heads, a slightly favorable ratio in comparison with their representation at the senior faculty ranks. At the fourteen most prestigious institutions, however, women hold only 6.5% of the tenured positions, while they have 8.6% of these positions at other institutions offering a linguistics doctorate and 18.8% at all other institutions. (See Table 7.22).

1/ Statistics from the Doctorate Records File. The 1973 LSA Membership Survey showed no PhD's of either sex who had dropped out of the work force. The 1970 NRSTP included one man (0.1% of all male PhD's) and three women (1.4% of all female PhD's) unemployed and not seeking employment. Applying these percentages to the figures given in Table 7.7 and subtracting, 19.2% of the PhD's from 1936-1967 are women and 25.0% since 1967.

Not all assistant professors hold a PhD: 11-12% do not, according to the LSA Membership Survey and the Survey of Linguistics Department and Program Heads, 24% according to the 1970 NRSTP. Among those without the doctorate, women are about 40% according to department heads, 20% according to the National Register.)

2/ Count made on the basis of first names. Where University Resources listed initials or first names were ambiguous we used other directories and personal knowledge of staff members at the Center for Applied Linguistics.

Table 7.20. Percentages of Men and Women at each Academic Rank in Linguistics Departments and Programs, 1973.

Rank	PhD			Less than PhD			Total		
	Male (H%)	Female (H%)	Tot. No.	Male (H%)	Female (H%)	Tot. No.	Male (H%)	Female (H%)	Tot. No.
Instr/Lect	53.3	46.7	15	51.6	48.4	31	52.2	47.8	46
Asst. Prof.	79.5	20.5	234	60.6	39.4	33	77.2	22.9	267
Assoc. Prof.	87.1	12.9	201	77.8	22.2	9	86.7	13.3	210
Full Prof.	91.1	9.0	222	66.7	33.3	3	90.7	9.3	225
TOTAL	85.0	15.0	672	59.2	40.8	76	82.4	17.1	748

Source: Survey of Linguistics Dept and Prog Heads, 1973.

Table 7.21. Women as Percentage of Linguistics Faculty, by Rank and Type of Academic Institution, 1971-72.

Type of Institution (by highest linguistics degree offered)	Full prof			Assoc prof			Assis prof			Inst/Lect			TOTAL		
	No of women	Total fac	Women as % of tot	No of women	Total fac	Women as % of tot	No of women	Total fac	Women as % of tot	No of women	Total fac	Women as % of tot	No of women	Total fac	Women as % of tot
PhD in linguistics:															
14 most prestigious departs.	8	144	5.6	7	79	8.9	12	91	13.2	13	35	37.1	40	349	11.5
Other departments	7	150	4.7	25	157	15.9	38	209	18.2	14	40	35.0	84	556	15.1
Master's in linguistics	8	88	9.1	10	74	13.5	24	107	22.4	9	24	37.5	51	293	17.4
Bach's in linguistics	-	24	-	2	30	6.7	6	50	12.0	3	12	25.0	11	116	9.5
Grad degree in another subject with linguistics concentration	8	73	11.0	19	72	26.4	22	90	24.4	6	24	25.0	55	259	21.2
Other four-year institutions	6	71	8.5	12	81	14.8	28	133	21.1	13	32	40.6	59	317	18.6
TOTAL	37	550	6.7	75	493	15.2	130	680	19.1	58	167	34.7	300	1890	15.9

Source: University Resources, 1971-72, special tabulations by the Manpower Survey project.

NOTE: Figures include linguistics faculty in all departments.

Table 7.22. Sex of Linguists Holding Tenure in Linguistics Departments and Programs by Type of Academic Institution, 1973.

Type of Institution (by highest linguistics degree offered)	Male		Female		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	
PhD in linguistics:					
14 most prestigious departments	86	93.5	6	6.5	92
Other departments	106	91.4	10	8.6	116
Master's in linguistics	40	83.3	8	16.7	48
Bach's in linguistics	23	67.7	11	32.4	34
Graduate degree in another subject with linguistics concentration	60	84.5	11	15.5	71
Other four-year institutions	54	83.1	11	16.9	65
TOTAL	369	86.6	57	13.4	426

Source: Survey of Linguistics Departments and Program Heads, 1973.

7.5.3.3 Institutions Hiring Their Own Graduates

The Survey of Linguistics Department and Program Heads asked how many of their own PhD's were on the faculty of responding programs. Seventeen of the 43 institutions answering this question had at least one of their own doctorates on the staff, a total of 41 men and four women. Twelve of those responding positively were from the 14 most prestigious--generally the oldest--departments. Only five said they had a policy of never hiring their own graduates. Most said they had no policy on the subject or that they were hired only under special circumstances. In sum, most institutions have no policy against hiring their own doctorates, about forty percent now have them on the faculty, and most of the PhD's so hired are male.

7.5.3.4 Salary

Both our sources for current salary statistics indicate that women earn at least $1,000 a year less than men of the same academic rank.

Linguistics department and program heads reported a median salary for female assistant professors of $11,500, a thousand dollars less than that for males at the same rank. The median salary reported for associate professors was $14,500, the same for men and women. Female full professors earned a median salary of $17,500 while males at that rank earned a median salary of $19,000. (See Table 7.23).

Among LSA Membership Survey respondents women with PhD's at the assistant professor level earned a median salary of $11,000, $1,200 less than the median salary of males at the same rank. At the associate professor level, women with PhD's earned a median salary of $13,700, while men at this level earned [illegible],700. The median was $18,200 for women full professors, $20,200 for men (the median for women is based on only seven responses, however).

Salary figures from the 1970 NRSTP are by now outdated as to dollar amounts, but our tabulations from that source show that discrepancies by sex existed then also. (See Table 7.25).

7.5.4 Recent Hiring

7.5.4.1 Statistics

During the period 1967-1972, 18% of the faculty members hired by linguistics departments and programs surveyed by the LSA were women: 27% of the instructors, 19% of the assistant professors and 12% of the associate and full professors. (Twenty-five percent of the linguistics PhD's awarded in these years went to women.) There was little difference among departments and programs offering a linguistics major, where the percentage of women among faculty members hired was a little under 15%. In contrast, in programs offering only a graduate minor in linguistics women constituted 26% and in those with the smallest programs, they were 37% of those hired. (Table 7.26)

Table 7.23. Salary of Full-Time Academically Employed Linguists by Rank and Sex, 1973.

Salary	Male					Female				
	Instr	Lect	Asst Prof	Assoc Prof	Full Prof	Instr	Lect	Asst Prof	Assoc Prof	Full Prof
Less than $8,000		1				2				
$8,000-$10,000	6		3	1		8	1	2		
$10,000-$12,000	10	3	80	12		5	2	22		
$12,000-$14,000	1	1	81	29	3	1	1	19	6	1
$14,000-$16,000			10	65	10			2	6	1
$16,000-$18,000		1	3	18	32				1	8
$18,000-$20,000				7	40				1	4
$20,000-$22,000					22					2
$22,000-$25,000					28					1
$25,000-$30,000					15					1
$30,000 and over					6					-
Median Salary	$10,500		$12,500	$14,500	$19,000	$9,500		$11,500	$14,500	$17,500

Source: Survey of Linguistics Dept and Prog Heads, 1973.

Table 7.24. Salary of Full-Time Academically Employed Linguists with PhD's, by Rank and Sex

Salary	Asst. Prof.		Assoc. Prof.		Full Prof.		All Ranks		
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Total
$8,000-$10,000	1						1	1	2
$10,000-$12,000	9	23		1		1	10	25	35
$12,000-$14,000	5	28	6	10			11	38	49
$14,000-$16,000	1	7	3	18	3	2	7	27	34
$16,000-$18,000		2	1	9		5	1	16	17
$18,000-$20,000				1	3	16	3	17	20
$20,000-$22,000			1	1		13	1	13	15
$22,000-$25,000						12		12	12
$25,000-$30,000					1	7	1	7	8
$30,000 and over						3		3	3
Median	$11,000	$12,200	$13,700	$14,700	(18,200)	$20,200	$13,200	$14,700	$14,500

Source: LSA Membership Survey, 1973.

NOTE: Medians calculated on basis of more detailed information in tabulations.

Table 7.25. Salary of Full-Time Academically Employed Linguists, by Rank and Sex, 1970

Rank/Highest Degree	Male		Female	
	Median Salary	No. of Rs	Median Salary	No. of Rs
Full professor w/PhD	$18,000	293	$15,000	35
Assoc professor w/PhD	$13,000	211	$12,000	46
Asst professor w/PhD	$11,000	240	$11,000	59
Asst professor w/MA	$10,000	72	$10,000	13
Instructor w/MA	$ 9,000	41	$ 8,000	13

Source: NRSTP, 1970, Special committee tabulations.

Table 7.26. Sex of Linguists Hired by Linguistics Departments and Programs, 1967-1972 by Rank and Type of Academic Institution.

Type of Institution (by highest ling deg offered)	Instructor		Lecturer		Asst. Prof.		Assoc. Prof.		Full Prof.		Total	
	Male	Fem.	Male	Fem.	Male	Fem.	Male	Fem.	Male	Fem.	M	F
PhD: 14 most prestigious	5	-	6	-	36	10	13	-	3	1	63	11
PhD: Other	7	3	2	-	43	8	11	1	5	2	68	14
Master's	5	4	-	-	24	2	5	-	1	-	35	6
Bach.	7	1	1	-	13	2	66	1	2	1	29	5
Other Grad.	3	1	-	-	29	4	13	1	4	1	49	17
Other	5	3	-	-	11	4	8	-	3	2	27	16
TOTAL	32	12	9	-	156	37	56	3	18	7	271	59
H %	72.7%	27.3%	100.0%		80.8%	19.2%	94.9%	5.1%	72.0%	28.0%	82.1%	17.9%

Source: Survey of Linguistics Dept and Prog Heads, 1973.

Only three of the 36 department and program heads responding to the question "Have your women students had greater difficulty in finding jobs than men of comparable qualifications?" responded with an unqualified"yes." Thirty-one stated that sex was not a factor. Five gave qualified responses. One felt that with the PhD, there was no difference. Another remarked that jobs secured by women may not be exactly the same quality in relation to their qualifications. A third said that women had no greater difficulty but have received the "short end of the stick in salary and course assignments."

The Survey of Linguistics Department and Program heads also asked about the employment of recent doctoral graduates; the results appear in Table 7.27. According to their department heads 79% of the women earning a linguistics PhD in the past two years are employed in linguistics or related fields as compared to 91% of the men. However, women earning degrees from the top fourteen institutions did almost as well as the men--90% of the women had found linguistics employment and 93% of the men--and both did better than their counterparts from other institutions. Only 68% of the recent women doctorates from these institutions were employed in linguistics or related fields, compared to 82% of the men. Overall, twice as many women as men were reported to be working in fields not related to linguistics and the percentage of women reported not employed was higher: eight percent vs. one percent.

The questionnaire distributed for the Doctorate Records File of the National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council asked graduating PhD's, beginning in 1967, about their post-doctoral plans. Table 7.28 summarizes the responses for U.S. citizens. Only 68% of the women, as compared with 80% of the men had a definite commitment for a job, while 11% of the men but 21% of the women were looking for a job but had no firm prospects.

Analysis of the latter group by sex and marital status showed that married women suffer the greatest uncertainty and married men the least, while single people of either sex were about average.

In recent years, an increasing number of linguists have responded that they planned to go on for further education or training--either post-doctoral fellowships or further degrees. Some wished to add experience, but since 1970 others have indicated that their purpose was to change fields. Among American citizens graduating in 1970 and 1971, 8% of the women fell into this category, 2% of the men.

7.5.4.2 Comments by Respondents on Discrimination Based on Sex and Other Classifications

Discrimination in hiring was a subject which prompted strong reactions from both male and female respondents. Several men cited experiences of reverse discrimination; for example an assistant professor of anthropology:

> I have been discriminated against at least twice to my knowledge on two counts--being male and being white. I am certain that every other white male who has shopped around in the last two years has been treated similarly.

Table 7.27. Employment of PhD's Graduating 1970-1972, by Sex.

	14 most prestigious				Other PhD Granting				Total			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
	No	V%	No	V%	No	V%	No	V%	No	V%	No	V%
Employed, linguistics or related field	105	93	35	90	55	87	26	68	160	91	61	79
Employed, other field	3	3	1	3	6	10	7	18	9	5	8	10
Not employed	1	1	2	5	1	2	4	11	2	1	6	8
Unknown	4	4	1	3	1	2	1	3	5	3	2	3
TOTAL	113	101	39	100	63	101	38	100	176	100	77	100

Source: Survey of Linguistics Departments and Program Heads, 1973.

Table 7.28. Post Doctoral Plans of Linguists (US citizens), by Sex, 1967-1971.

Post-Doctoral Plans	1967		1968		1969		1970		1971		Total				
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male		Female		Tot.
												V%		V%	
Definite commitment for emp'mnt.	42	14	56	19	48	14	64	21	67	18	277	79.8	86	67.7	363
Further training	-	2	2	-	4	-	5	3	8	6	19	5.5	11	8.7	30
Job aimed, prospects not firm	6	3	5	4	9	7	4	3	13	10	37	10.7	27	21.3	64
Military	-	-	2	-	1	-	1	-	2	-	6	1.7	-		6
Uncertain	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	2	1	4	1.2	2	1.6	6
Unknown	-	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	2	-	4	1.2	4	0.8	5
TOTAL	48	20	66	24	64	21	75	27	94	35	347	100.1	127	100.1	474

Source: NAS-NRC, Doctorate Records File.

and a graduate student:

> As a white male, I have received a few clearly discriminatory refusals of interviews--well-intentioned I suppose, and "justified" by affirmative action.

Some were resentful, like an assistant professor, now a faculty member in a graduate department of linguistics:

> One institution, which had no women in the prospective hiring department (whose chairman indicated to me that the Dean was applying pressure on them to hire a woman), subsequently filled the opening for which I was being considered with a woman with clearly inferior qualifications. Needless to say, I am annoyed by the kind of thinking behind your #7 [question on racial or ethnic minority group membership].

Others were philosophical--an assistant professor at a branch campus of a state university:

> To be frank about it I have encountered job-hunting discrimination this year because I am not Chicano, Boricua, female or Black. Two employers told me frankly that they would only consider me if they absolutely could not come up with someone toward whom they could Act Affirmatively! But then, past (and present) sins must be atoned for and I am not unhappy in Podunk.

Others noted with disapproval what they perceived as favoritism toward women and minorities. One said simply: "I hope the Society will issue a statement condemning the currently prevalent discrimination against white males."

Women most frequently singled out hiring as the stage where they had experienced discrimination--from interviewers, potential employers and their own professors (the role of the last-mentioned in placement is documented in Section 3.6). One, now an assistant professor, said:

> I found sex discrimination a problem more during graduate study and job seeking than in my present situation. Given federal pressures for economic equality, discrimination crops up in such intangibles as the advice, enthusiasm, and support of former professors, of the people (men) with "influence."

Married women said they had trouble even being considered because of an unfounded presumption that they would follow their husbands. Two doctoral candidates:

> I have been repeatedly asked by interviewers, but especially by faculty in my own department from whom I requested recommendations, how I could consider such and such a job--what would my husband do? The presumption is that my job must

> take a backseat to his opportunities, which in our family, is not a basic principle.
>
> Being a woman has been an advantage, being a married woman a disadvantage. The assumption is lack of seriousness in job hunting, i.e. I would follow my husband. This results in (1) reluctance of faculty members to help look for a job and (2) reluctance of interviewers to invest money in interviewing me or to consider me for permanent positions. This is obviously a considerable disadvantage independent of talent or accomplishment. In fact, my husband and I have chosen my job over several possibilities for each of us.

Another stated she was denied an interview after the chairman learned she was expecting a baby. A fourth said:

> I have failed to get the only two jobs I have been interviewed for because: (1) I had "too many home responsibilities" for the personnel committee, although the department concerned wanted me; (2) I live too far away. My home responsibilities have decreased considerably since I started graduate school, when my daughter was somewhat under two, and I don't think a father, even a widower, would have been asked what he planned to do with his child after school.

A single woman, 26, said, "my sex and age combination has caused many prospective employers to fear 'imminent' marriage and therefore doubt long-term employment is assured." The final quotation, by a woman describing her search for a job several years ago, encapsulates the experiences that our female respondents complained of.

> The department chairman did not recommend me for any positions, assuming (without asking) that I was working for a degree as a pastime. Some remarks made to me in interviews which I arranged myself were:
> "Don't get me wrong. I like women, but not in the department--only after working hours."
> "If I hire you, the men in the department will go elsewhere."
> "You're a good-looking woman. What if you get married?"
> "I've been through three menopauses with women teachers already. Sorry--not again."
> "We can hire you on a temporary basis until we find a qualified man for the position."

Our solicitation of comments on discrimination also prompted several responses on other bases for it. One was age discrimination, cited by at least three doctoral students over forty. The other was related to linguistic theory. A 1965 PhD:

> The only documentable exclusion I have experienced is that linguistics departments was MIT doctors/PhD above all others. For example, I applied to _____[a new linguistics program] in 1963 and repeatedly in the following years. A letter from _____[a professor there] to _____, requesting him, or other MIT-men he might recommend, to apply for openings was posted on the bulletin board, where I saw it, and applied. My new application (January, 1970) was answered two days later, "explaining" that "the response to our own search for candidates has been so overwhelming..." The worst discrimination I have faced is totally within linguistics: the LSA does not represent minority opinions and many of its leading members are just one more "old boys" club. One gets farther with TG slogans than with original scholarship, even if brilliant.

There were several other comments in a similar vein.

7.6 The Availability and Employment of Women Linguists: A Summary[1]

7.6.1 Availability of Women Linguists[2]

For first-job hiring the best measure of the availability of women linguists is their percentage among graduate students currently seeking permanent employment. According to the LSA Survey of Linguistics Graduate Students, women were:

44% of the doctoral students seeking employment in 1973
65% of the master's students seeking employment in 1973

(women are over-represented in the latter category in this survey).

The trends and current statistics indicate that the percentages will soon be higher. According to Office of Education statistics the number of women linguistics students rose ten percentage points in five years between 1966 and 1971--from 38% to 48%. Two 1973 surveys reported the following percentages of women graduate students:

	Survey of Linguistics Dept/Prog Heads	Survey of Linguistics Grad Students
PhD students	46%	47%
Master's students	59%	69%
TOTAL	52%	54%

---

[1] Tables and statistics are derived from earlier sections of this chapter.
[2] Availability refers to the percentage of women in the field (not the number immediately seeking employment).

In considering the present composition of programs by sex the percentages of cumulative PhD's earned and of the work force are relevant. According to the Doctorate Records File, of the total doctorates in linguistics conferred between 1936 and 1972, women constituted 23% of the cumulated total:

20% of linguistics PhD's awarded, 1936-1967
25% of linguistics PhD's awarded, 1967-1972

The recent increases in graduate enrollment among women were apparently reflected in 1972, when 30% of the PhD's conferred went to women. In the work force, linguists employed full or part-time, or else unemployed and seeking employment, women are 26% of the total:

20% of the PhD's
39% of the PhD candidates
45% of the MA's

7.6.2 Employment and Status of Women Linguists

The available statistics give no indication of a general pattern of discrimination against women in graduate admissions or financial aid. Employment presents a different picture, however. Overall, the unemployment rate of women is twice that of men, or put differently, women are 26% of the work force but 44% of the unemployed. A comparison of figures on availability in the last section with the following tables on university employment show that women are under-represented at every faculty rank:

Rank	Survey of Linguistics Dept/Prog Heads	University Resources 1971-1972
Ass't professor	22.9%	19.1%
Assoc professor	13.3%	15.2%
Full professor	9.3%	6.7%
TOTAL	17.1%	15.9%

Nor have they been hired in proportion to their availability in the last few years: of linguistics faculty hired from 1967 to 1972 the Survey of Linguistics Department and Program heads shows the following were women:

Ass't professor	19%
Assoc professor	5%
Full professor	28%
TOTAL	18%

Within each faculty rank women are distributed unevenly among types of institutions, being least likely to be found at the most prestitious institutions:

	Top 14	Other PhD Granting	Other	Total
Full/assoc professor	6.7%	10.4%	12.7%	10.7%
Ass't professor	13.2%	18.2%	21.1%	19.1%
TOTAL	11.5%	15.1%	17.9%	15.9%
Tenured	6.5%	8.6%	18.8%	13.4%

On the average, women make $1,000 a year less than men of the same rank:

Instructor	Survey of Linguistics Dept/Prog Heads		LSA Membership Survey	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Instructor	$10,500	$ 9,500	-	-
Ass't professor	$12,500	$11,500	$12,200	$11,000
Assoc professor	$14,500	$14,500	$14,700	$13,700
Full professor	$19,000	$17,500	$20,200	$18,200

The views of individuals quoted throughout the study reflect facets of this situation and the results of attempts to remedy it. Readers can consult the statistics and their own knowledge and experience and judge their validity for themselves. Overall, statistics on unemployment, recent hiring, and measures of status like rank, salary, and prestige of the employing institution indicate that women have been, and remain in a position of disadvantage. It is unclear whether minority group members are advantaged or disadvantaged professionally; however, there are so few that either way their position can have little effect on jobs for others. The statistics, however, reflect the situation of the average member of any group--a hypothetical being. Individuals may still suffer injustices stemming from group membership which others in the group have avoided. What most disturbed our respondents was their worry about getting a decent job and the fear of unfair treatment (or belief that it had taken place) because their race, sex, age or ethnic group is considered more important than their individual merits.

Appendix A

Copies of LSA Manpower Survey Questionnaires

- LSA Membership Survey
- Survey of Linguistics Graduate Students
- Survey of Linguistics Department and Program Heads

LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA 1611 N. Kent Street Arlington, Virginia 22209

MEMBERSHIP SURVEY

Name ____

Mailing address ______________________________________

- -

NOTE: If you are a graduate student and have already filled out a similar LSA questionnaire, do not complete this one. Simply check here: __, and return in the enclosed envelope. Thank you.

I. VITA

1. Date of birth _________ 2. Citizenship: __ U.S.
__ Other (specify) ________________

3. Sex: __ Female 4. Marital status: __ Married. Spouse's profession __________
__ Male __ Not married (incl. widowed, divorced)

5. Number of children under 18 _____

6. What do you consider your native language(s)? ____________________

7. If you are a U.S. citizen, are you a member of a racial or ethnic minority group?

__ No.
__ Black.
__ Spanish-speaking. Which group (e.g. Chicano, Puerto Rican, etc.) __________
__ Asian. Which group (e.g. Chinese-American, etc.) ________________
__ Native American. Which group (e.g. Navajo, Cherokee, etc.) ______________
__ Other (please specify) ______________________________

II. PROFESSIONAL IDENTIFICATION AND BACKGROUND

8. a. What is the highest degree you hold? _______ Major ______________

Minor ________________ Institution ____________________

Name of supervising dept. or program ______________________

b. If your highest degree is other than a BA or BS, in which year did you receive your BA or BS? ______ What was the major subject? ______________

9. Do you regard yourself as primarily a: (check one)

__ linguist
__ anthropologist
__ specialist in a particular language or language family, namely:
____

__ psychologist
__ ESOL specialist
__ Other (please specify) ____________
____

10. What are your principal areas of professional specialization (e.g. phonology, French linguistics, psycho-linguistics, Chinese, etc.)? ____________________
____

11. How many years of professional language-related work experience, such as teaching or research, have you had, and in which general field(s) (e.g. linguistics, ESOL, anthropology, etc.)?

Yrs. Experience	General field

For Office Use Only

12. How many items have you published in each of the following categories?

___ Book reviews ___ Journal articles ___ Books

III. STUDENT STATUS

13. Are you currently enrolled as a student in a degree-granting program? __ Yes
__ No

IF YOU ARE NOT A STUDENT IN A DEGREE-GRANTING PROGRAM, SKIP TO QUESTION 19.

14. If you are a student, Degree sought ___ Date degree expected ________________

Major ____________________ Minor ____________________

Institution ____

Supervising department or program ____________________

15. Are you enrolled:
__ for coursework OR __ for dissertation
__ part-time OR __ full-time
__ in residence OR __ in absentia

16. Are you currently teaching at the institution at which you are enrolled?

__ Yes __ No. If YES, what subject(s)? ____________________

17. Are you currently receiving any of the following types of financial aid:

__ teaching assistantship
__ research assistantship
__ university fellowship
__ government fellowship
__ other fellowship
__ other (describe) ____________________

18. Are you actively seeking permanent employment? __ Yes __ No. If YES, in which field(s)? ____________________ To begin: ________________

IV. EMPLOYMENT

19. Employment status:

__ employed full-time in own field (as indicated in question 9)
__ employed part-time in own field (as indicated in question 9)
__ employed in a field other than that indicated in question 9). Which?

____

__ unemployed and desiring employment
__ not employed and not desiring employment
__ retired

IF YOU ARE NOT CURRENTLY EMPLOYED OR ARE EMPLOYED ONLY AS A TEACHING OR RESEARCH ASSISTANT AT AN INSTITUTION AT WHICH YOU ARE A STUDENT, SKIP TO QUESTION 27

20. If you are employed full-time or part-time, what is the name of your present principal employer:

Institution ____________________ City, state ____________________

Department or program ____

What is the most appropriate category for your present principal employer:

___ university
___ four-year college
___ junior college
___ federal government
___ elementary or secondary school
___ non-profit organization
___ private business
___ other (specify) ______________________

21. Your rank or title ______________________

22. Approximately what percentage of your working time do you spend on each of the following work activities (present principal employment):

Activity	% of time
Teaching	
Administration	
Research	
Other (specify) ______________ ______________	
Total	100%

23. If you are teaching at a college or university, please indicate the number of courses and their general field(s):

General field	No. of courses	
	Graduate level	Undergraduate level
Linguistics		
Language/literature of a specific language, namely:		
Other (specify) ______________		

How many theses or dissertations are you supervising? __________

24. If you are doing research, what is the subject area (e.g. Russian phonology, child language, etc.) ______________________

25. a. How many proposals for which you were a principal investigator have you submitted to funding agencies during the last five years? __________

b. How many were funded? __________

26. In what year did you first join your present institution as a faculty member or professional employee? __________

How did you first find a position at this institution?

___ through a professor or former professor
___ through a colleague
___ placement service or register
___ unsolicited offer by institution
___ unsolicited inquiry at institution on your part
___ other (please describe) ______________________

27. Since entering the professional labor market, have you experienced any periods of involuntary unemployment? ___ Yes ___ No. If YES, when and for how long?

____

28. a. Assuming your current financial and family situation, would you prefer to work: __ full-time __ part-time __ not at all

b. In job-seeking, would you consider yourself restricted to any particular geographic area or type of community? __ Yes __ No. If YES, please describe (e.g. U.S. only, West Coast only, Boston area only, big cities only).

c. Assuming that the rank and salary were acceptable, at which type(s) of institution(s) would you prefer to work? Please rank up to three, using the number 1 for your first choice, 2 for your second choice, etc.

__ private business
__ four-year college
__ federal government
__ junior college
__ other (please specify) ______________________________

__ elementary or secondary school
__ university with graduate linguistics program
__ universith without graduate linguistics program
__ non-profit organization

d. How would you prefer to allocate your working time (in approximate percentages)?

Activity	% of time
Teaching	
Administration	
Research	
Other (specify) ______________ ______________	
Total	100%

e. In which of your areas of specialization (as you listed them in question 10) would you prefer to work? ______________________________

29. Response to the following question is STRICTLY OPTIONAL. Salary information will not be released in any way which would permit it to be identified with you, but if you prefer not to reveal your salary, please omit this question.

Please give the basic annual salary associated with your present principal employment: ______________ for __ 9-10 months a year OR
__ 11-12 months a year

(basic annual salary does not include bonuses, overtime, summer teaching, rental or subsistence allowances)

COMMENTS: We would be interested in any remarks qualifying answers above or on such topics as your experiences with the professional job market, the strengths and weaknesses of your linguistics training, or discrimination you might have encountered on grounds of sex or minority group membership, etc. Thank you.

Linguistic Society of America

Committee on the Manpower Survey

1611 North Kent Street, Arlington, Virginia 22209 • Telephone: (703) 528-2311 • TWX Telex 710-955-0818

The Committee on the Manpower Survey very earnestly requests that you complete the following questionnaire and return it to your department chairman or student organization by February 28, 1973.

The background of this inquiry is that the Manpower Survey Committee has been charged with investigating:

a) the current situation, and the probable future course, of job opportunities for persons trained in linguistics and the uncommonly taught languages, and of the supply of such persons;

b) the special problems in the profession relating to the training and utilization of minority groups, in particular, women, and members of ethnic groups such as blacks, Chicanos, American Indians, etc.; and

c) the possibility of expanding job opportunities for linguists by exploring new areas in which linguistic expertise might be needed.

The present questionnaire is being sent to linguistics graduate students through their departments and programs and is designed to tell the Committee more about the supply side of supply and demand in linguistics. We are particularly concerned with the academic background, areas of specialization, and employment aspirations of future members of the profession. We are also anxious to hear from as many students as possible their ideas and concerns about the job market in linguistics, their problems with it and preparation for it. We would emphasize that:

-- this questionnaire requests new information which is not available to us otherwise, and

-- the information to be furnished will be treated in a completely confidential and privileged manner. It will be available only to the members of the Committee and persons in the employ of the LSA, and will be published only in the form of statistical summaries and analyses that will not identify individuals.

Because the results of the survey will undoubtedly have great importance in the formulation of future employment and training policies in the profession of linguistics, not only at the national level but also at the local level, we believe that you will be well repaid for your cooperation.

Thank you.

JOHN B. CARROLL, *Educational Testing Service*, CHAIRMAN; CHARLES BIRD, *Indiana University*; WALLACE CHAFE, *University of California (Berkeley)*; JAMES FRITH, *Foreign Service Institute*; VICTORIA FROMKIN, *University of California (Los Angeles)*; GEORGETTE IOUP, *New York University*; MICHAEL KRAUSS, *University of Alaska*; RICHARD A. LONG, *Atlanta University*; A. HOOD ROBERTS, *Center for Applied Linguistics*; ELAINE RISTINEN, *Bloomington, Indiana*; JOHN R. ROSS, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*

SURVEY OF GRADUATE STUDENTS IN LINGUISTICS

Name ______________________________

Mailing address ______________________________

I. VITA

1. Date of birth __________ 2. Citizenship: __ U.S.
__ Other (specify) __________

3. Sex: __ Female
__ Male

4. Marital status: __ Married. Spouse's profession __________
__ Not married (incl. widowed, divorced)

5. Number of children under 18 ____

6. What do you consider your native language(s)? __________

7. If you are a U.S. citizen, are you a member of a racial or ethnic minority group?

__ No.
__ Black.
__ Spanish-speaking. Which group (e.g. Chicano, Puerto Rican, etc.) __________
__ Asian. Which group (e.g. Chinese-American, etc.) __________
__ Native American. Which group (e.g. Navajo, Cherokee, etc.) __________
__ Other (please specify) __________

II. CURRENT ENROLLMENT

8. Degree sought ________ Major __________ Minor __________

Institution ______________________ Date degree expected ________

Name of supervising dept. or program ______________________

9. Are you enrolled:
___ for course work OR ___ for dissertation
___ full-time OR ___ part-time
___ in residence OR ___ in absentia

10. Are you currently teaching at the institution at which you are enrolled?
__ Yes __ No. If YES, what subject(s)? __________

11. Are you currently receiving any of the following types of financial aid:

__ teaching assistantship __ government fellowship
__ research assistantship __ other fellowship
__ university fellowship __ other (specify) __________

12. If you are doing original research (including dissertation research), what is the subject area (e.g. Russian phonology, child language, etc.)

____

III. ACADEMIC AND PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUND

13. a. What is the highest degree you hold? ________ Major __________

Minor __________ Institution __________

Name of supervising dept. or program __________

b. If your highest degree is other than a BA or BS, in which year did you receive your BA or BS? ______ What was the major subject? __________

14. Do you regard yourself as primarily a student of: (check one)

___ linguistics
___ anthropology
___ particular language or language family, namely: ______________
___ psychology
___ ESOL
___ other field (please specify) ______________

15. What is (are) your principal area(s) of interest or specialization (e.g. phonology, French linguistics, psycho-linguistics, Chinese, etc.).

____

16. How many years of professional language-related work experience, such as teaching or research, including graduate assistantships, have you had, and in what general field(s)? (e.g. linguistics, ESOL, etc.)

Yrs. Experience	Field

17. How many items have you published in each of the following categories?

___ Book reviews ___ Journal articles ___ Books

18. To which national professional organizations do you belong? (please spell out)

____

IV. OUTSIDE EMPLOYMENT

19. Are you currently employed in a professional capacity in language-related work outside of the department or program in which you are enrolled? ___ Yes ___ No. If YES, please give the following information:

a. Name of employing institution ______________

b. Department or program ______________

c. What is the most appropriate category for this institution?

___ university
___ four-year college
___ junior college
___ private language school
___ other private business
___ elementary or secondary school
___ federal government
___ non-profit organization
___ other (specify) ______________

d. Your rank or title ______________

e. Your work activities (check whichever are appropriate)

___ teaching. What subject(s)? ______________
___ administration
___ research. On what subject(s)? ______________
___ other (please describe) ______________

f. Do you regard this job as primarily:

___ a temporary source of support while you pursue graduate work
___ a permanent job
___ other (please describe) ______________

V. FUTURE EMPLOYMENT

20. a. In what field(s) do you expect to seek employment (other than summer or other temporary employment)?

__ linguistics
__ ESOL
__ particular language or language family, namely: ____________________

__ anthropology
__ psychology
__ education
__ other (please specify) ____________________

____

b. When do you hope to obtain such employment? ____________________

21. a. Would you prefer that this employment be:

__ full-time
__ part-time

b. In seeking such employment, would you consider yourself restricted to any particular geographic location or type of community? __ Yes __ No.
If YES, please describe (e.g. U.S. only, West Coast only, Boston area only, big cities only, etc.).

c. At which type(s) of institution(s) would you prefer to work? Please rank up to three, using the number 1 for your first choice, 2 for your second choice, etc.

__ private business
__ junior college
__ federal government
__ four-year college
__ other (please specify) ____________________

__ elementary or secondary school
__ university with graduate linguistics program
__ university without graduate linguistics program
__ non-profit organization

d. To which one of the following activities would you prefer to devote the primary part of your working time?

__ teaching
__ research

__ administration
__ other (specify) ____________________

e. In which of your areas of interest or specialization (as you listed them in question 15) would you prefer to work? ____________________

____

COMMENTS: We would be interested in any remarks qualifying answers above or on such topics as your experiences with the professional job market, the strengths and weaknesses of your linguistics training, or discrimination you might have encountered on grounds of sex or minority group membership, etc. Thank you.

LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA 1611 N. Kent Street Arlington, Virginia 22209

SURVEY OF LINGUISTICS DEPARTMENTS AND PROGRAMS

Institution ______________________ City, state ______________________

Name of department, program or committee ______________________

____

Name of person responding to questionnaire ______________________

Degrees offered in linguistics: __ None __ BA or BS __ MA or MS __ PhD

__ Other (specify) ______________________

- -

INSTRUCTIONS

Please answer all questions only with regard to the linguistics staff in your department or program. For example, if you are responding for a department of English, please omit faculty members who teach only literature courses; if you are responding for a department of Linguistics and Foreign Languages include anyone who can teach at least one course in any area of linguistics, including the linguistics of a specific language, e.g. History of English or Structure of French.

Please answer questions with regard to the 1972-73 academic year unless otherwise specified.

I. STAFF

1. Please indicate the number of full-time and part-time faculty linguists at each rank in your department or program this term.

	FULL-TIME FACULTY				PART-TIME FACULTY			
	With PhD or its equiv		Less than PhD or its equiv		With PhD or its equiv		Less than PhD or its equiv	
RANK	MEN	WOMEN	MEN	WOMEN	MEN	WOMEN	MEN	WOMEN
Instructor								
Lecturer								
Asst Prof								
Assoc Prof								
Full Prof								

2. Are there any other (non-faculty) linguists holding paid appointments in your department or program (e.g. as research associates, post-doctorals, etc.)?

   __ Yes __ No. If YES, how many? _____

3. Please indicate how many full-time and part-time faculty linguists at each rank in your department or program are members of the American racial or ethnic minority groups listed below.

	FULL-TIME				PART-TIME			
RANK	Black	Spanish speaking	Asian	Native Amer.	Black	Spanish speaking	Asian	Native Amer.
Instructor								
Lecturer								
Asst Prof								
Assoc Prof								
Full Prof								

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4. How many of the linguists in your department or program hold tenure?

   a. Men _____ Women _____

   b. Of those who hold tenure, how many are members of minority groups as defined in question 3 above? _____

5. Please indicate for the full-time faculty members in your department or program who teach at least one course in linguistics the number at each rank within the following salary ranges, assuming a salary based on a nine or ten month year. Then indicate in parentheses in the appropriate boxes the number in each category who are members of minority groups (as defined in question 3 above).

	MEN					WOMEN				
SALARY RANGE	Inst	Lect	Asst Prof	Assoc Prof	Full Prof	Inst	Lect	Asst Prof	Assoc Prof	Full Prof
less than $8,000										
$8,001-$9,000										
$9,001-$10,000										
$10,001-$11,000										
$11,001-$12,000										
$12,001-$13,000										
$13,001-$14,000										
$14,001-$15,000										
$15,001-$16,000										
$16,001-$17,000										
$17,001-$18,000										
$18,001-$20,000										
$20,001-$22,000										
$22,001-$25,000										
$25,001-$30,000										
more than $30,000										

6. Approximately what percentage of your linguistics faculty salary budget comes from each of the following sources:

_____ General university or college funds
_____ Federal grants and contracts
_____ Other (please describe) ______________________________

26. How many of these degrees (the total conferred from 1967-68 to 1971-72) were awarded to members of minority groups (as defined in question 20 above)?

	Blacks	Asians	Spanish-speaking	Native Americans
MA or MS				
PhD				

27. Approximately how many advanced linguistics degrees do you expect to award in each of the next three years?

	1972-73	1973-74	1974-75
MA or MS			
PhD			

28. What are your enrollment plans for graduate linguistics degrees during 1973-74? Do you plan to:

___ expand enrollment. By how many for MA/MS _____ for PhD _____
___ maintain current levels for MA/MS _____ for PhD _____
___ decrease enrollment. By how many for MA/MS _____ for PhD _____

29. a. Considering the last two years, how many of your MA/MS linguistics graduates:

	Men	Women
have remained in graduate school		
are employed in linguistics or related fields		
are employed otherwise		
are not employed		
unknown		

b. Considering the last two years, how many of your PhD linguistics graduates:

	Men	Women
are employed in linguistics or related fields		
are employed otherwise		
are not employed		
unknown		

30. In which, if any, areas of specialization (e.g. phonology, theoretical linguistics, Romance linguistics, etc.) have your students experienced difficulty in finding jobs in the last two years?

31. In which, if any, areas of specialization have your students experienced little or no difficulty in finding jobs in the last two years?

32. Have your women students had greater difficulty in finding jobs than men of comparable qualifications?

33. a. What is your policy on hiring PhD's graduated from your own department?

___ They are never hired.
___ They are hired only under special circumstances.
___ There is no departmental policy on this subject.
___ Other (please describe)

b. How many of your own PhD's are currently on the faculty in your department or program? No. of men _____ No. of women _____

III. GRADUATE LINGUISTICS ENROLLMENT

NOTE: If your department or program offers one or more degrees in some field with a concentration in linguistics, rather than in linguistics itself (e.g. a MA/MS or PhD in anthropology with a concentration in linguistics), please check here ___. Name the field(s) and degree(s) ______________________________

____

Answer the questions below with reference to that degree(s); i.e. if appropriate, read the term "advanced linguistics degree" as referring to a degree with a concentration in linguistics.

---

19. Please indicate the number of students enrolled for an advanced linguistics degree in your department or program as of fall 1972.

	For MA or MS		For PhD			
			Total PhD enrollment		Enrollment for dissertation	
	Full-time	Part-time	Full-time	Part-time	In residence	In absentia
Men						
Women						

20. Of the total students enumerated in question 19, how many are members of the American racial or ethnic minority groups listed below?

Blacks ___ Asians ___ Spanish-speaking ___ Native Americans ___

21. What was the total enrollment for advanced linguistics degrees in your department or program in fall 1970? ______ in fall 1967? ______

22. a. How many students applied for admission to your graduate linguistics program for the 1972-73 academic year? Men ______ Women ______

b. How many applicants were accepted? Men ______ Women ______

c. How many applicants actually enrolled in fall 1972? Men ______ Women ______

23. How many of your currently enrolled graduate students are also teaching linguistics in your department or program this term? ______

24. How many of the graduate students enrolled for linguistics degrees in your department or program are currently receiving the following types of financial support?

			Of the total:	
TYPE OF SUPPORT	Total men	Total women	Minority men	Minority women
Teaching assistantship				
Research assistantship				
Fellowships				
Other (specify) ______________________				

25. How many advanced linguistics degrees has your department or program awarded during the last five years?

		1967-68	1968-69	1969-70	1970-71	1971-72
MA or MS	Men					
	Women					
PhD	Men					
	Women					

7. How many linguists were hired for permanent full-time positions in your department or program between September 1967 and August 1972 at each rank? (By permanent we mean other than as a temporary replacement for a regular faculty member.) Please specify the areas of specialization (e.g. anthropological linguistics, Romance linguistics, phonology, etc.) and the year each person was hired.

RANK	Men	Women	Areas of specialization	Year hired
Instructor				
Lecturer				
Asst Prof				
Assoc Prof				
Full Prof				

8. Did you gain any linguistics positions during the period between September 1967 and August 1972? __ Yes __ No. If YES, how many? ___

9. How many of the positions mentioned in question 7 were filled through each of the following means?

____ Formal registers or placement services
____ Unsolicited applications and inquiries by job-seekers
____ Contacts with colleagues
____ Other (please describe) ________________________________

10. Did you experience difficulty in finding a qualified person to fill any of these positions? __ Yes __ No. If YES, please specify the rank, area of specialization and any conditions you consider relevant to the difficulty.

11. Do you have any budgeted but unfilled full-time position in linguistics for this term? __ Yes __ No. If YES, please specify the rank, area of specialization, experience required and any conditions you consider relevant to its not having been filled.

12. Did you lose any full-time linguistics positions between September 1967 and August 1972? __ Yes __ No.

a. If YES, how many, at what level, and in which year(s)?

b. If the holders of any of these positions were terminated, how many were:

PhD's ____
non-PhD's ____

men ____
women ____

13. Do you expect your full-time linguistics staff for 1973-74 to:

__ increase. By how many and on what level? ________________________
__ remain the same size.
__ decrease. By how many and on what level? ________________________

14. Do you foresee any expansion in your staff over the next five years? __ Yes __ No. If YES, about how many positions and in which areas of specialization?

15. Is there a policy against hiring both a husband and a wife:

a. At your institution? ___ Yes ___ No. In your department? ___ Yes ___ No.

b. If YES to either, is the policy ___ written OR ___ unwritten?
Please state what it is (attach a copy of policy statement if available)

c. Are discussions in process to change or eliminate it? ___ Yes ___ No.

II. INTRODUCTORY LINGUISTICS ENROLLMENT

16. a. Please estimate the total enrollment in your introductory linguistics course(s) in fall 1972 ___

b. Approximately what was the enrollment in fall 1970? ___
in fall 1967? ___

c. Do you expect enrollment in your introductory linguistics course(s) in 1973-74 to:

___ increase. By about how many? ___
___ remain about the same.
___ decrease. By about how many? ___

17. Which other departments or programs at your institution require or recommend one or more linguistics courses for their majors? ___

18. How many undergraduate students at your institution are currently majoring in linguistics? ___ How many of them are minority group students? ___

COMMENTS:

Appendix B

Uncommonly Taught Languages Being Taught at FSI/Washington in FY '73

LANGUAGE	No. of linguists	No. of instructors	No. of students
Afrikaans	1	1	1
Arabic (Eastern)	1	4	9
Arabic (Western)	1	2	7
Bengali	1	1	1
Bulgarian	1	1	1
Burmese	1	3	8
Cambodian	1	10	39
Chinese (Standard)	1	3	20
Czech	1	2	2
Danish	1	3	5
Dari	1	1	8
Dutch	1	2	14
Farsi (Iranian Persian)	1	2	8
Finnish	1	1	4
Greek	1	2	4
Hebrew	1	8	49
Hindi	1	2	3
Hungarian	1	2	3
Indonesian	1	2	7
Japanese	1	4	10
Korean	1	3	8
Lao	1	9	43
Malay	1	1	2
Norwegian	1	2	15
Nepali	1	1	1
Polish	1	2	8
Portuguese	1	4	12
Romanian	1	1	3
Serbo-Croatian	1	3	12
Swedish	1	1	5
Tagalog	1	1	1
Tamil	1	1	1
Thai	1	5	10
Turkish	1	7	23
Urdu	1	1	2
Vietnamese	1	2	3

Each linguist normally supervises from 1 to 3 languages.

Uncommonly Taught Languages Which Were Taught at FSI/Washington in FY '72.

LANGUAGE	No. of linguists	No. of instructors	No. of students
Afrikaans	1	2	5
Amharic	1	2	7
Arabic (Eastern)	1	3	25
Arabic (Western)	1	2	5
Bengali	1	1	2
Bulgarian	1	1	3
Burmese	1	3	12
Cambodian	1	5	20
Chinese (Standard)	1	3	30
Czech	1	1	5
Danish	1	2	6
Dari (Afghan Persian)	1	2	7
Dutch	1	2	16
Farsi (Iranian Persian)	1	1	7
Finnish	1	2	8
Greek	1	3	13
Hebrew	1	4	44
Hindi	1	1	2
Hungarian	1	1	1
Indonesian	1	2	16
Japanese	1	2	18
Korean	1	2	17
Lao	1	6	85
Nepali	1	1	1
Norwegian	1	1	8
Polish	1	2	9
Portuguese	2	6	109
Romanian	1	1	8
Serbo-Croatian	1	3	23
Slovenian	1	1	2
Swahili	1	2	3
Swedish	1	1	13
Tagalog	1	1	1
Thai	1	4	39
Turkish	1	5	16
Urdu	[illegible]	1	1
Vietnamese	6	18	242

Some instructors worked full time, others part time; some worked the full fiscal year, others did not. Each linguist supervised from 1 to 3 languages.

Uncommonly Taught Languages Which Were Taught at FSI, Washington in FY '68.

- Arabic (Eastern)
- Bengali
- Bulgarian
- Burmese
- Cambodian
- Chinese (Standard
- Czech
- Finnish
- Greek
- Hindi
- Hungarian
- Indonesian
- Japanese
- Korean
- Lao
- Farsi
- Polish
- Portuguese
- Serbo-Croatian
- Swahili
- Thai
- Turkish
- Urdu
- Vietnamese

Vietmanese was supervised by 7 linguists; each of the others was supervised by only one.

Appendix C

The Summer Institute of Linguistics

The Summer Institute of Linguistics is an international volunteer organization. It is non-sectarian but the motivation of its members "definitely includes a strong spiritual component, the task is linguistics, although also influenced by the motivation as in the inclusion of Bible translation." (Dr. Frank Robbins, Vice President for Academic Affairs in a letter to the Manpower Survey).

According to an SIL publication, "The Summer Institute of Linguistics, Inc."

"The Summer Institute of Linguistics has as its goal the study of the languages of the world's aboriginal groups, and the preservation of a record of these languages for linguistic science. The linguistic studies include phonological and grammatical analyses, dictionaries, and compilation of extensive texts including folklore, songs, autobiographies, and descriptions of culture.

"SIL is also concerned with the practical application of its linguistic findings in helping speakers of these languages. For each language a practical alphabet, materials for teaching, reading and writing, a small literature, and materials for making the transition from the mother tongue to the national language are prepared. In general, publications are in diglot in order to facilitate learning of the national language.

"SIL provides linguistic training for those interested in working toward these goals. Its linguistic field work is undertaken in cooperation with governmental and educational agencies of each country. In many places additional programs of health, agriculture, and community development are undertaken."

"The Summer Institute of Linguistics is developing plans to assure that research is done in all of the remaining minority languages of the world and that literature is prepared to provide a bridge to literacy in a national language wherever that need exists. That does not mean that SIL plans to do all that. Wherever some other resource is available or potential, SIL will seek to encourage that. SIL will seek to make provisions for the research and literature preparations, however, wherever there is no other alternative. ... A survey is under way ... and we hope by 1985 to have an overall plan and schedule for at least getting research underway in all of the languages. Increasingly we hope to encourage third world citizens and speakers of minority languages to get linguistic training for the purpose of research and literature preparation in their areas." (letter from Dr. Robbins)

The SIL has a central administrative staff of linguists and a board of directors, and 20 field branches in different countries. It has an international consultant group, and each branch has its own consultation staff;

many, although not all the consultants hold advanced degrees in linguistics. Members of the SIL, of whom there are currently about 3000, normally work in the field, living among speakers of the language they are assigned to study. Members have a minimum of 20 semester hours of coursework in linguistics and anthropology.

The SIL also operates sessions of linguistics and applied anthropology courses each summer (except for one program during the academic year) taught by linguists assisted by teaching assistants. Two or three faculty members are regular employees of secular universities but the rest are under SIL assignment; many are on detail from the field where they usually work. Most of the faculty members hold doctorates in linguistics or anthropology and most are SIL members. A few non-members teach SIL courses by invitation, but the SIL cannot pay salaries. Dr. Robbins estimates that 12,000 people have received SIL training, including SIL members not engaged in linguistic work (e.g., pilots, builders). He anticipates training up to 600 annually in the five U. S. schools during the next five years. There are other schools abroad, and he anticipates increasing activity in preparing citizens of third world countries to participate in linguistic research in the languages of their own countries (letter to the Manpower Survey).

A listing of SIL linguists prepared for the World Directory of Linguists includes 899 United States citizens, 38 with the Ph.D., 93 with an M.A. or M.S., and 768 others. Fifty-four work in North America, the remainder in other countries.

Most SIL members are responsible for raising funds from private sources for their own support, although occasionally they receive federal grants or contracts for specific projects. SIL students are eligible for normal government or university assistance for their courses, which are part of the regular university curriculum at the institutions with which the SIL schools are affiliated. SIL as an organization receives foundation and government grants but those sources constitute a small proportion of the total support of SIL's work. (Dr. Robbins' letter to the Manpower Survey).

A recent SIL bibliography shows three types of materials: works on general linguistics, articles and monographs on specific languages, and educational materials in specific languages. Work on linguistics theory, according to their publications, emphasizes techniques of phonetic transcription, alphabet analysis, grammatical description and dictionary making. Work done by the members in specific languages under study includes alphabet design, preparation of literature, design of materials and methods to teach literacy and foundational education in the speakers' native language and the national language of their country, training literacy teachers, Bible translation, development of cultural information, and community development work.

In 1973 SIL members were working with about 550 languages in 23 countries. All were minority group languages, most unwritten.

Appendix D

List of Tables Contained in this Report

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